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American
Jewish
Year Book 1988

VOLUME 88

Prepared by THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
NEW YORK
THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY
PHILADELPHIA

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ISBN 0-8276-0313-4

Library of Congress Catalogue Number: 99-4040

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY THE HADDON CRAFTSMEN, INC., SCRANTON, PA.

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South African Jewry: A Sociodemographic Profile

by SERGIO DELLAPERGOLA AND ALLIE A. DUBB

Background

PERHAPS THE MOST SALIENT FEATURE of South African society today is that racial classification determines the basic constitutional rights of each citizen—work opportunities, place of residence, participation in the political sphere, use of public amenities, and so on. Within this legalized castelike hierarchy, whites occupy the most privileged position, coloreds (people of mixed race) and Asians (largely Indians) an intermediate status, and blacks the lowest. According to the 1980 census, the total population of South Africa was 25,016,525, with 17,022,248 blacks, 4,551,068 whites, 2,624,007 coloreds, and 819,202 Asians (see table 1). By mid-1986, the total population was estimated at some 28.4 million.[1]

While Jews have been in South Africa since the first British occupation in 1795,[2] major Jewish settlement dates from the 1880s. From the outset, Jews were part of the dominant white group and, more specifically, of its English-speaking segment. The latter fact is partly explained by the tendency of Jews to gravitate to the main towns and cities, which were predominantly English in character. Also important was the fact that the Afrikaners (the descendants of the original Dutch settlers), like the Jews themselves, were a relatively closed group, maintaining strict social, cultural, linguistic, and religious boundaries. British culture in South Africa, in contrast, was the idiom of the rich and powerful; it was cosmopolitan and not bound up

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Note: The research reported in this article was carried out at the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics, the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Prof. Uziel O. Schmelz read the manuscript and offered valuable comments. Arin Poller and Benny Anderman ably assisted in the preparation of this study.

[1] The 1980 total excludes the black homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, and Venda, which were already independent, while the latest midyear estimate also excludes Ciskei. The UN, which still regards these territories as an integral part of South Africa, estimates the 1986 population at just over 32,000,000.

[2] Histories of the Jewish community include Louis Herrman, *A History of the Jews in South Africa* (Johannesburg and Cape Town, 1935); Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz, eds., *The Jews in South Africa: A History* (Cape Town, 1955); Gideon Shimoni, *Jews and Zionism: The South African Experience 1910–1967* (Cape Town, 1980). See also Gideon Shimoni, "South African Jews and the Apartheid Crisis," in this volume.

with membership in a rigidly exclusive social group. To this open and accessible culture, with its more amorphous social identity, were attracted those immigrants—including Jews—who could not or would not become part of the Afrikaner people. Jews who went to live in the smaller towns and villages spoke Afrikaans and often established close and warm relations with their Afrikaner neighbors, but they remained strangers and outsiders.

The difference between Afrikaans- and English-speaking whites and the position of Jews in the ethnic stratification of South Africa is at least partially reflected in the religious distribution of the population (table 1). A breakdown of religious denomination by home language among whites in 1980 shows that three-quarters of all Afrikaans-speakers belonged to one of the three Dutch Reformed churches and a further 9 percent subscribed to the Apostolic faith. English-speaking whites, in contrast, showed allegiance to a wide spectrum of religious denominations, including 6.8 percent who were Jews. In turn, white, mostly English-speaking individuals constituted 97.4 percent of all those who identified themselves as Jews, the remainder being black (1.9 percent), colored (0.5 percent), and Asian (0.2 percent).

The South African Jewish community is relatively homogeneous in respect to its origins, religious patterns, and commitment to the Zionist cause and Israel. The community is relatively small in size and geographically concentrated in the two major metropolitan centers, Johannesburg and Cape Town. For these and other reasons the South African Jewish community has long been regarded in the Jewish world as a model of effective and disciplined organization. Virtually all Jewish religious and secular activities take place within the framework of national coordinating bodies. The most important of these are the South African Zionist Federation, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, the South African Board of Jewish Education, and the Federation of Synagogues of South Africa (which includes the Beth Din).[3] Virtually all fund raising is done on a national level through the Israel United Appeal and the United Communal Fund.

From a global point of view, the South African Jewish community ranks eighth in size, seventh in the Diaspora. However, it has contributed beyond its size not only to the financial needs of Israel but, more significantly, to Western *aliyah* (immigration to Israel). In some ways it resembles various Jewish populations in the West, but in others—especially those related to the particular type of pluralism characterizing South Africa—it differs markedly. This article will focus on the major social and demographic characteristics of the Jewish community, viewing them mainly within the context of the white population, which the Jewish community most closely resembles and of which it is, most immediately, a part. At the same time, some characteristics will also be compared with the South African population as a whole so as to obtain a broader perspective.

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[3] Until recently Johannesburg and Cape Town had separate *batei din*.

Sources

From the point of view of sociodemographic information, South African Jewry is among the best documented Jewish communities in the Diaspora. There are a variety of sources in which the main components of Jewish population structure are described and by means of which selected aspects of population change over the last 100 years can be traced. The data available since the beginning of the twentieth century are especially rich.

The principal sources are the periodic official population censuses. Beginning in 1904, and again in 1911, 1918, 1921, 1926, 1936, 1946, 1951, 1960, 1970, and 1980, censuses have provided information on the various religious denominations, including Jews.[4] This information includes not only the total size of each group and its geographic distribution, but also selected demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. The proportion of the total (white) population which does not report a religion in South Africa's censuses is usually low, which enhances reliability of the results.

The data published by the South African Department of Statistics on the Jewish population have usually included a moderate amount of detail. However, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies was able to arrange for special detailed processing of the 1970 and 1980 data files on the white

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[4] The main published sources of data from South African censuses include: *Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1904* (Capetown, 1905); *Census of the Colony of Natal, 1904* (Pietermaritzburg, 1905); *Census of the Orange River Colony, 1906* (Bloemfontein, n.d.); *Results of a Census of the Transvaal Colony and Swaziland, 1904* (London, 1906); South Africa Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Census of the Union of South Africa: Annexures to General Report, 1911,* part 6 (Pretoria, 1912); South Africa, *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa 1918* (Capetown, 1920); South Africa Bureau of Statistics, *Third Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa, Enumerated 3rd May, 1921,* part 7 (Pretoria, 1923); South Africa Bureau of Statistics, *Fourth Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa, Enumerated 4th May, 1926,* part 8 (Pretoria, 1929); South Africa Bureau of Statistics, *Sixth Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa, Enumerated 5th May, 1936,* vol. 6 (Pretoria, 1941); South Africa Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa, 7th May, 1946,* vol. 4 (Pretoria, 1954); South Africa Bureau of Statistics, *Population Census, 8th May, 1951,* vol. 3 (Pretoria, 1954); South Africa Bureau of Statistics, *Population Census, 6th September, 1960,* vol. 2 (Pretoria, 1966–1967); vol. 3 (Pretoria, 1966); Sample Tabulations by Census Tracts (Pretoria, n.d.); South Africa Department of Statistics, *Population Census, 6th May, 1970,* Report no. 02–05–03 (Pretoria, 1975); Tabulations by Area and Religion, Metropolitan Areas (Pretoria, n.d.); South Africa Central Statistical Services, *Population Census 80, Religion by Statistical Region and District,* Report no. 02–80–06 (Pretoria, 1985); *Social Characteristics,* Report no. 02–80–12 (Pretoria, 1985).

Jewish population to be provided to the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1970 the Department of Statistics prepared a comprehensive set of tabulations based on a 10-percent sample of South African Jewry; in 1980 it provided a computer tape of individual records of Jews living in the six major centers of Jewish settlement: Cape Town and Port Elizabeth in the Cape province; Durban in Natal; and Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Germiston in the Transvaal.[5] Further processing of these data was performed by the authors of this article.

In addition to the censuses, official data are also available on the number and characteristics of Jewish international migrants for the period from the beginning of this century up to the 1950s.[6]

Community-sponsored surveys of the Jewish population of the major cities have provided a wealth of information covering both essential demographic and socioeconomic variables and several aspects of Jewish identity, attitudes, behaviors, and community activities. Surveys of Johannesburg Jews were undertaken in 1935 by Henry Sonnabend,[7] and in 1968 by Allie A. Dubb.[8] The major research effort was the 1974 South African Jewish Population Study, sponsored by the South African Jewish Board of Deputies in cooperation with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and directed by Dubb.[9] The 1974 study used a sample of 2,074 Jewish households in

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[5] The more detailed data available for 1980 refer to the six statistical regions which included the largest numbers of Jews. Statistical regions are divided into districts. In each of the regions for which we have data, most of the Jewish population is concentrated in the district named after the largest regional city. The Cape Town region also includes the Wynberg, Simonstown, Goodwood, and Bellville districts; Port Elizabeth includes Uitenhage and Kirkwood; Durban includes Pinetown and Inanda; Pretoria includes Wonderboom; Johannesburg includes Randburg; Germiston includes Alberton, Boksburg, Kempton Park, and Benoni. For the sake of simplicity, in this paper only the names of the chief regional centers will be mentioned. The data, however, relate to the entire respective regions. It should also be noted that an area bearing a particular name frequently has different boundaries in the census than it does when defined according to other criteria (e.g., magisterial district, municipal area, suburb from point of view of municipality, etc.). Furthermore, the census enumeration areas have themselves been altered from census to census. The result is that comparison of areas bearing the same name (e.g., the major metropolitan centers) over a period of years is subject to some error.

[6] See Stuart Buxbaum, "A Profile of Jewish Immigration to South Africa Between 1924–1948 and Its Impact upon the Local Community," in U. O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. DellaPergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1981* (Jerusalem, 1983), 145–62.

[7] Henry E. Sonnabend, "Statistical Survey of Johannesburg Jewish Population" (Johannesburg, 1935), mimeo; Henry E. Sonnabend, "Notes on a Demographic Survey of a Johannesburg Group," *South African Journal of Science* 33 (Mar. 1937):1055–60.

[8] Allie A. Dubb, *Jewish South Africans: A Sociological View of the Johannesburg Community*, Rhodes University, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Occasional Paper no. 21 (Grahamstown, 1977).

[9] Allie A. Dubb, Sergio DellaPergola, Dorit Tal, Beryl Unterhalter, and Stuart Buxbaum, *South African Jewish Population Study* (Jerusalem, Hebrew University, 1977–1978). Several advance reports were issued summarizing the main findings of the 1974 study. In this paper

Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, and Bloemfontein, randomly selected from current Jewish community lists. The sample, therefore, did not adequately cover the more marginal members of the Jewish population, nor very recent arrivals who were as yet unknown to the organized community. These biases must be taken into account in interpreting the findings.

Records concerning Jewish marriages and Jewish burials have been routinely accumulated for many years by Jewish communities in South Africa. While these vital statistics have not been studied systematically, some of this information relating to Johannesburg Jewry in the late 1960s and early 1970s was analyzed.[10] Some data on synagogue marriages have also been published by South Africa's Department of Census and Statistics.[11] An investigation of Jewish births, using records of maternity wards, was carried out in Johannesburg in 1972.[12]

Jewish education in South Africa has been coordinated over the years by two central boards of education which publish periodic reports. In 1982 a systematic census of Jewish schools was taken, as part of the First Census of Jewish Schools in the Diaspora, by the Project for Jewish Educational Statistics at the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry.[13] Information was collected about the basic characteristics of institutions, pupils, and teachers.

Other, more specific, pieces of social-science research are also available.[14] All these sources are helpful in obtaining an overview of the changing characteristics of the Jewish population and the Jewish community in South Africa over the last several decades.

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these are referred to as SAJPS Advance Reports. See, in particular, SAJPS Advance Report no. 1, *Methodology of the Study.* It should be noted that Bloemfontein, the main center in the Orange Free State province, was included in the 1974 survey but not in the detailed 1980 census processing. The entire Germiston statistical region was covered in the 1980 census tabulations, while in 1974 only parts of the Germiston statistical district were included, and those as part of the Johannesburg survey area.

[10] SAJPS Advance Report no. 5, *Mortality,* and no. 13, *Marriage and Mixed Marriage.*

[11] See Stuart Buxbaum, "Synagogue Marriages in South Africa: An Analysis of Official Statistics," in U. O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. DellaPergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1973* (Jerusalem, 1977), 171–94.

[12] SAJPS Advance Report no. 7, *First Data on Fertility.*

[13] Nitza Genuth, Sergio DellaPergola, and Allie A. Dubb, *First Census of Jewish Schools, 1981/2–1982/3—International Report,* Project for Jewish Educational Statistics, Report no. 3 (Jerusalem, 1985).

[14] See U. O. Schmelz, ed., *Demography and Statistics of Diaspora Jewry, 1920–1970—Bibliography,* I (Jerusalem, 1976), 254–62; Paul Glikson, "Selected Bibliography, 1969–1971," in U. O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. J. Gould, eds., *Studies in Jewish Demography—Survey for 1969–1971* (Jerusalem-London, 1975), 242–43; Paul Glikson, "Selected Bibliography, 1972–1980," in U. O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. J. Gould, eds., *Studies in Jewish Demography—Survey for 1972–1980* (New York, 1983), 139–44.

EVOLUTION OF THE JEWISH POPULATION

Growth of the Jewish Population

By 1880 there were about 4,000 Jews, mostly from England and Germany, in the four territories that were to become the Union of South Africa in 1910 (the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal). During the two decades that followed, the discovery of gold and diamonds in South Africa and deteriorating conditions in Eastern Europe drew thousands of Jewish immigrants from Lithuania, Russia, Poland, and Latvia. By the turn of the century, in 1904, the Jewish population had increased ninefold to over 38,000, and constituted 3.4 percent of the total white population of the territories (see tables 2 and 3). Seven years later, the first census after the formation of the Union indicated that the number of Jews had grown by almost a quarter, to 47,000, constituting 3.7 percent of all whites.

As East European immigration moved into high gear, the Jewish population of the Union increased significantly faster than the total white population, until by 1936 it stood at over 90,000, comprising 4.5 percent of all whites. However, with the enactment of the Quota Act in 1930 and the Aliens Act in 1937, this immigration was reduced to a trickle. The last relatively large influx, which occurred between 1933 and 1939, was of refugees from Nazi Germany, which had not been one of the "quota" countries.

The cessation of large-scale Jewish immigration since 1939, a low rate of natural increase, and, during the last ten years or so, a rise in emigration, have led to a decline in the rate of growth of the South African Jewish community, both absolutely and relative to the total white population. Between 1970 and 1980 the number of Jews actually decreased by some 200 persons, to 117,963. By 1986 it is estimated that there was a further reduction—due mainly to a new wave of emigration—to around 115,000, constituting 2.3 percent of all whites.

The breakdown of the South African population in 1980 by religion (see table 1) shows that Jews constituted the smallest major religious group in the total population and that only Islam, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Hinduism had fewer white adherents. Compared with specific Christian denominations in a more detailed census tabulation, however, the number of Jews ranks with medium-sized white churches, such as the Presbyterians, and well above the Baptists, individual Pentecostals, and the various ethnic churches.

Another interesting fact is that a small proportion—less than 0.1 percent in each case—of coloreds, Asians, and blacks declared themselves to be Jews. In 1980 this represented a total of 3,125 individuals (2,320 black, 533 colored, and 272 Asians) in addition to 117,963 white Jews. While it is possible that colored and Asian Jews were either "reclassified" white Jews[15] or their offspring, they had in fact increased by more than 150 percent since 1970 and seventeenfold since 1960.[16] The characteristics of colored, Asian, and black Jews in South Africa will not be discussed in further detail here, but the subject is worthy of research.

International Migrations

IMMIGRATION

Historically, immigration constituted the main determinant of growth of South African Jewry. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, a large number of Jews, mainly from the West, joined the diamond and gold rushes in Kimberley and on the Witwatersrand. However, the largest and most important stream of immigration, which also began in about the 1880s and continued until the 1930s, was that of Lithuanian and other East European Jews. The early 1930s saw the arrival of Jews—a large proportion being from Germany—seeking refuge from increasing Nazi pressure and persecution. This immigration continued until the outbreak of World War II. The relative magnitude of each wave of immigration can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy. Gustav Saron gives the following figures: "I estimate that in the thirty-year period from 1880 to 1910, some 40,000 Jewish immigrants entered the country. Thereafter, for various reasons, the numbers decreased, with the exception of the years 1924 to 1930. In all, in the half-century 1910 to 1960, I estimate that perhaps 30,000 Jewish immigrants entered the country. The bulk of these were East European Jews."[17]

Year-by-year official statistics relating to the number of Jewish immigrants show a peak in 1928 (2,293 admitted persons) and 1929 (2,788 persons), and an all-time record in 1936 (3,330 persons).[18] In earlier and later years the volume of Jewish immigration was much smaller. From the available statistics we can also evaluate past fluctuations in the percentage of Jews as a proportion of total immigrants to South Africa. The general trend was a decrease—from a peak of 35 percent in 1929 to 7 percent on the eve of World War II. During the 1960s and 1970s the level of Jewish immigration was below 1 percent of the total.

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[15] In terms of the Population Registration Act, 1950, all permanent residents were classified according to "population group," i.e., black, white, etc. Reclassification in any direction could be requested by the person him/herself, or by the authorities acting on their own initiative or on the reports of neighbors or others.

[16] There were rumors during the 1970s of an Israeli rabbi, who has since left the country, selling conversions to blacks. The probability, however, is that almost all the black Jews in 1970 and 1980 belonged to a sect founded by the self-styled "Rabbi" Mshizana in Soweto, Johannesburg. The sect was never accepted by either the Orthodox or Reform communities as authentically Jewish. First encountered by anthropologist Martin West (now professor and head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Cape Town) in the 1960s, the sect was later reported in the press from time to time. The "rabbi" was detained during the recent disturbances.

[17] Gustav Saron, "The Making of South African Jewry," in Leon Feldberg, ed., *South African Jewry, 1965* (Johannesburg, 1965), 13.

Action by the South African government in the form of restrictive legislation had profound effects on the volume and nature of Jewish immigration. In May 1930 the Immigration Quota Act came into force. This established a limited quota of immigrants of any race from all those countries specified in the act. Among the regulated countries were those of Eastern Europe, from which most Jews had come. Although it was officially denied that the act was aimed at curbing Jewish immigration in particular, it had exactly that effect. The reasons given for the restrictions emphasized that immigrants from the quota countries were culturally too different to be satisfactorily assimilated into a South Africa wishing to maintain its homogeneity, its basic ethnic composition, and its type of civilization.[19] In 1937 further restrictive legislation, the Aliens Act, was enacted.

During the late 1920s and early 1930s, almost 90 percent of Jewish immigration originated from countries affected by the 1930 Quota Act (see table 4). More than 50 percent of all immigrants came from Lithuania and nearly 20 percent from Poland. Jews constituted 80 percent of all immigrants from quota countries between 1924 and 1932. This pattern changed completely when the Nazis came to power in Germany. Between 1933 and 1939, the proportion of Jewish immigration coming from quota countries was reduced to 30 percent (of which half was from Lithuania), while 70 percent came from nonquota countries, which included Germany (59 percent of the total), other countries under German rule, and the British Commonwealth. The Jewish share of the total immigration from quota countries was reduced to 30 percent.[20]

In the years 1941–1945 Jewish immigration to South Africa ceased almost entirely. With the end of World War II, immigration resumed. During the early postwar period it was over 500 persons per year, with about half coming from the United Kingdom. Survey data collected in 1974 suggest that between the mid-1950s and the early 1970s the net inflow of Jewish immigrants probably declined to a yearly average of 200–300. Of these, about 25 percent came from Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, about 20 percent from Israel, 15 percent from the United Kingdom, and the rest from other

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[18] See Buxbaum, "A Profile of Jewish Immigration," 146.

[19] Ibid., 145.

[20] SAJPS Advance Report no. 4, *Country of Birth and Period of Immigration.*

European countries, the Middle East, North Africa, North America, and Australia.

The demographic profile of Jewish immigrants changed during the different periods of immigration. During the 1920s a disproportionate number of young, single Jewish males arrived in South Africa (see table 4). Later, the sex ratio of immigrants was more balanced. Some married women and minors were brought to South Africa by husbands and fathers who had preceded them by a few years. Concentration of interwar immigrants in particular years and age groups had an impact on the demographic composition of the Jewish population in subsequent years (see below).

Fragmentary data on occupation before immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe during the 1920s indicate a predominance of salesmen and industrial workers.[21] By contrast, the occupational composition of Israelis migrating to South Africa between 1975 and 1984 was more than one-half professionals, about one-fifth production workers, and a smaller proportion of other occupations.[22]

EMIGRATION

As already noted, a positive international migration balance was for many years the most important factor in Jewish population increase. Nevertheless, while emigration from South Africa has generally been much lower than immigration, it has usually represented a sensitive indicator of changes both within the Jewish community and within South African society at large.

During the period 1924–1945, the ratio between the number of emigrants from South Africa per 100 immigrants was only 4 percent among Jews, as against 59 percent among non-Jewish whites.[23] This reflects differences in the frequency of return migration, different motivations of Jews and non-Jews for immigration and emigration, and the different options for actually moving back and forth that were available to members of each group during the interwar period.

The only country for which detailed data on Jewish migration from South Africa exist is Israel. Between 1924 and 1948, 954 Jews emigrated from South Africa; of these, 265 (28 percent) went to Palestine (see table 5). With the establishment of the State of Israel, the flow of South African *olim* increased significantly, though the pace varied over time. Yearly numbers of migrants tended to increase throughout the 1950s and 1960s, particularly after the Six Day War. However, of much greater significance were the repercussions of political unrest in South Africa during the late 1970s, which led to an *aliyah* of more than 1,000 *olim* in each of the two years 1977 and 1978. After a temporary slowdown during the early 1980s, emigration to Israel began to increase in 1985. The total pool of Jews of South African origin living in Israel was estimated at about 14,000 at the end of 1987, including Israeli-born children of South African parents.[24] This amounts to about 12 percent of the size of the Jewish population in South Africa in 1980.

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[21] Buxbaum, "A Profile of Jewish Immigration," 156–57.

[22] Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Migration of Israelis Abroad: A Survey of Official Data from Selected Countries,* Supplement to the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, no. 6 (Jerusalem, 1986), 69.

[23] See Buxbaum, "A Profile of Jewish Immigration," 158.

In 1974 Jewish heads of households surveyed in the six major centers reported a total of 28,000 children of all ages living at separate addresses. Of these, over 5,000 (19 percent) did not live in South Africa. Of all children whose place of residence abroad was indicated, 33 percent lived in Israel, 32 percent in the United Kingdom, 13 percent in the United States, 7 percent in Canada, 3 percent in Australia, and 12 percent in various other countries. On the other hand, when asked about their intention to stay in South Africa, 78 percent of heads of households stated that they would remain (52 percent definitely and 26 percent probably), 8 percent were not sure, 13 percent contemplated leaving, and 1 percent indicated that they would definitely leave. Of those who specified a possible country of destination, 80 percent indicated Israel, 9 percent the United Kingdom, 7 percent the United States, 2 percent Canada, and 2 percent another country.[25] While these attitudes may have changed, and actual behavior may not have been consistent with them—under the impact of more recent events—Israel did stand quite high among possible destinations for those who were considering emigration or whose kin had already emigrated.

Natural Increase and Affiliative Changes

BIRTHS AND DEATHS

In general, the size of a religious-ethnic minority group can be affected by three types of factors: the balance of internal demographic changes—births vs. deaths; the balance of international migrations—immigration vs. emigration; and the balance of identificational changes—accessions vs. secessions.

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[24] Our estimate based on Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Demographic Characteristics of the Population, National Data from the Complete Enumeration, 1983 Census of Population and Housing.* Publication no. 7 (Jerusalem, 1985), and evaluation of changes between 1983 and 1987. The estimate is based on figures on the South African-born and an appropriate inflation factor to account for persons who immigrated from South Africa but were not born there.

[25] SAJPS Advance Report no. 2, *Emigration.*

With the decline of Jewish immigration during the 1930s, natural increase emerged as the principal factor in the growth of the Jewish population. Birth and death rates are not available, but rough orders of magnitude can be obtained by looking at the number of young Jewish children at various dates and subtracting the known amount of growth due to migration from the total Jewish population growth. It would appear that the rates of natural increase were generally modest and tended to decline—from 6–7 per 1,000 Jews during the 1930s to 3–4 per 1,000 during the 1960s.

Retrospective and recent fertility rates are available from the 1974 South African Jewish Population Study, from a 1972 special investigation of Jewish fertility in Johannesburg, and, indirectly, from the age structure of the Jewish population in successive censuses.[26] While some substantive findings are discussed below, it should be noted here that South African Jews exhibited a relatively high level of fertility during the 1940s and 1950s—as compared to most other Diaspora communities—and showed a tendency to decline in the 1960s and especially toward the end of the 1970s.

Given the apparent high levels of natality after World War II, the explanation for the modest rate of natural increase must come from relatively high death rates. The older age composition of the Jewish population appears to have resulted in crude death rates somewhat above those of total whites. Relatively high death rates should not, however, be confused with the intrinsically low levels of mortality among South African Jews. The results of a study of Jewish mortality in Johannesburg in the late 1960s and early 1970s point to a life expectancy at birth of 71.9 years for men and 73.4 for women, as against 64.1 and 71.1, respectively, for total South African whites.[27] A similar advantage in the life expectancy of Jews probably prevailed in earlier decades too.

CHANGES IN IDENTIFICATION

Due to a lack of systematic data on changes in affiliation and identification among South African Jews, it has been assumed that the balance of conversions and other identification changes is nil. An inquiry conducted in 1966 found that Christian missionary activity among Jews was minimal, due to a notable lack of success in the past. Moreover, interviews with ministers of several Christian denominations suggested that very few Jews converted on their own initiative or because of outmarriage.[28]

Regarding assimilation without religious conversion, it should again be noted that although the Jews belong to the white group, this is a legal definition and not a social or cultural one. The Afrikaners maintain strict social and cultural boundaries which cannot easily be crossed, while English speakers do not form a coherent or cohesive social group. Thus, the country lacks clear-cut, generally accepted definitions of what constitutes a "true South African," and this has reduced the pressure on Jews to conform. Moreover, certain advantages (see below) in being Jewish might well play a significant role in minimizing the tendency of individuals simply to drift away from the Jewish community and from self-identification as Jews.

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[26] SAJPS Advance Report no. 7, *First Data on Fertility.*

[27] SAJPS Advance Report no. 5, *Mortality.*

[28] The inquiry was undertaken by Allie A. Dubb for the national weekly *Zionist Record.*

In spite of conversion to Judaism related to marriage (see below), there is no evidence showing that the accretion of converts has been a major factor in Jewish population change in South Africa.

The Jewish Population Equation, 1970–1980

Probably the most intriguing finding about the Jewish population from the 1980 South African census was the final count of the number of Jews. Since the 1970 census, in which 118,200 Jews were enumerated, the emigration of several thousand might have led to the expectation of Jewish population decline, this in spite of the moderate natural increase that still prevailed around 1970. The figure of 117,963 Jews for 1980 contradicted this expectation, pointing instead to surprising stability of Jewish population size during a decade of intense change.

Although every census, even the most sophisticated, carries some problems of quality, there is no way of ascertaining the extent to which the 1970 and 1980 totals may be explained by differences in the general quality of responses or in the coverage of the Jewish population in particular. Only on one specific point is there a known difference: the percentage of the total white population whose religious affiliation was unknown or who did not admit to any affiliation increased from 2 percent in 1960 and 2.7 percent in 1970 to 4.5 percent in 1980. However, the extent of nonresponse to the question on religion—although increasing—was low compared to that found in other Western countries. Were we to assume that a proportional share of Jews was included among those with unreported religion or none, the total would increase to 121,500 in 1970 and 123,500 in 1980. The size of the Jewish population would thus have grown over the intercensal period, making the actual demographic changes even more at variance with popular perceptions.

In order to reconcile the 1970 and 1980 figures on Jewish population, we must rely on partial and sometimes circumstantial evidence. In spite of their limitations, the available data do suggest the main direction and determinants of population change during the intercensal period.

An attempt should first be made to estimate the expected course of Jewish population growth between 1970 and 1980, assuming no international migrations and no identificational changes. These estimates are based on the age structure of the Jewish population in 1970 and on the levels of mortality and fertility that have been ascertained or inferred from the 1970 and 1980 censuses and other sources. It should be noted that while age composition around 1970 was quite favorable to population growth, structural transformations during the 1970s were bringing about rapid changes in the prospects for growth. Thus, the proportion of those aged over 65 was rapidly increasing, and the number of women of procreative age was beginning to decline—the end of natural increase was approaching.

Applying the available five-year age-specific death and birth rates to the 1970 Jewish age structure, we obtain projected totals of 121,200 for 1975 and 122,400 for 1980, as against 118,200 in 1970. This amounts to an expected excess of 4,200 Jewish births over the number of Jewish deaths. Some moderate increase in life expectancy that might have occurred during the 1970s, which was not taken into account here, has probably led to some overestimate of the expected number of Jewish deaths and an underestimate of the expected growth of the Jewish population (assuming the absence of external migrations).

Considering the actual decline of about 200 in Jewish population size between 1970 and 1980, the total of 4,400 Jews "missing" from the 1980 census can only be explained by a negative balance of international migration. It must again be emphasized that there are no systematic and definitive data on Jewish immigration and emigration. Nevertheless, the few reliable items of information that are available, plus a set of reasonable hypotheses, provide the basis for an interpretation of the migration process.

Let us first consider immigration to South Africa during the 1970–1980 period. This factor has generally been given little attention, aside from periodic rumors about a growing community of Israelis—said to include as many as 20,000 people. In reality, the 1980 census reported a total of 2,261 persons born in Israel and (partially overlapping) 1,927 Israeli citizens. However, to obtain a fuller estimate of the number of Israelis we must also include those who were neither born in Israel nor were citizens of the country, but who had been resident there. Recent Israeli and South African migration statistics show a ratio of former Israeli residents to Israeli-born of about 1.6 to 1.[29] If we apply this ratio to the South African census figure of Israeli-born, we obtain a 1980 estimate of 3,618 persons, including a few non-Jews.

The notion of a large Israeli community in South Africa in 1980 must, therefore, be dismissed, although the above estimates of the number of

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[29] Over the period 1975–1979, 1,171 immigrants whose last country of permanent residence was Israel came to South Africa; the number of Israeli-born immigrants was 742. In 1980–1984, the figures were 2,443 and 1,507, respectively. See Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Migration of Israelis Abroad*, 68–69.

Israelis should be considered as minimal (see below). They do not include people who might have been defined as Israelis but who either did not report an Israeli origin in the census or escaped the enumeration altogether. Among these were: (a) tourists and other temporary residents who were not obliged to report in the census; (b) persons who were not born in Israel and, being entitled to multiple citizenship, may not have appeared as Israeli citizens; (c) former South African immigrants to Israel who were recorded as both South African-born and South African citizens; (d) any other Israelis who concealed their birthplace or citizenship; (e) those located in the independent black homelands, which are excluded from the census but which in popular perception are still seen as part of South Africa.

A useful clue in the 1980 census on the volume of immigration to South Africa is the number of children born outside of the country since 1970 and thus immigrating to South Africa between 1970 and 1980. There were 837 such children in the six major metropolitan areas for which we have detailed data. Of these, 167 were born in African countries (mostly Zimbabwe), 109 in the United Kingdom, 48 in other European countries, 427 in Israel, and 86 in other countries (mostly the United States and Canada). There was no unusual pattern of concentration in any of the six major centers, other than some underrepresentation in the Cape province. Proportionate weighting of the total figure for the six selected centers (837) gives an estimate for the whole country of 914 foreign-born children aged 0–9.

How many Jewish adults entered South Africa together with these children? We may speculate that the migrants included a disproportionate share of unattached adults; at the same time, some portion of the migrants consisted of entire families. We shall assume, as the central value of a range of hypotheses, that the proportion of the 0–9 age group among the migrants was slightly below that of all South African Jewry in 1980: 12 percent vs. 13.7 percent. Based on this assumption it is estimated that a total of about 7,600 individuals immigrated to South Africa between 1970 and 1980 and remained there in 1980. If the real proportion of children out of all migrants was higher, the total estimate of immigrants would decrease; if it were lower, the estimate would increase. It should be noted that some of these migrant children were probably born abroad to South African parents who emigrated and later returned to South Africa.[30] Any children that were born in South Africa and that emigrated and returned during the 1970–1980 period are not included at this stage in the calculation. If they were, they would entail an additional number of accompanying adult return migrants.

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[30] As noted above, about one-half of all immigrant children in 1970–1980 were Israeli-born. Children probably constituted a higher proportion of Jewish immigrants from Israel than from other countries. If we relate the 1980 census figures on Israeli-born children to the figures on immigration mentioned in footnote 29, a percentage of 20–25 percent of children is obtained, which seems not unlikely. We assume that the overwhelming majority of the Israeli-born immigrant children were born to Israeli parents and not to former South African *olim*.

Before suggesting a fuller estimate of return migration to South Africa, it would be well to consider the matter of emigration. Regarding the latter, the only hard facts are provided by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics. Over the 1970–1979 period, 7,893 South African residents came to Israel as "new" or "potential" immigrants[31] (see table 5). At the same time, many more Jews emigrated to other countries. Partial evidence from Australian censuses suggests an estimated net inflow of up to 1,400 South African Jews between 1971 and 1981.[32] The United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom were other destinations reported by emigrants, but no precise figures are available. Some emigrants might even have moved from one destination to another after a period of a few years. Again the only clue upon which an estimate of further migratory mobility can be based comes from Israel: the proportion of immigrants from the period 1970–1979 who were still in the country in 1983 could be determined from the 1983 Israeli census. It was found that Israel had retained 47.5 percent of these *olim,* and that 52.5 percent, or over 4,100 out of the almost 7,900 individuals, no longer lived in Israel.[33] Some had presumably gone back to South Africa, while others had moved to a third country.

We must now reconcile our estimates of immigration and emigration in order to complete the picture of Jewish population movements between 1970 and 1980. The total number of new immigrants and return migrants to South Africa could range between the 7,600 estimated on the basis of the foreign-born children and accompanying adults in the 1980 census and the 11,700 arrived at by adding all 4,100 former *olim* of the period 1970–1979 who were "missing" in Israel. Lacking further information, we shall choose a middle estimate of about 2,000 returning *olim,* with the rest, presumably, having gone to other destinations.[34] This would produce a total of 9,600 Jewish immigrants and returning emigrants entering South Africa between 1970 and 1980. In order to attain the previously estimated South African Jewish migration deficit of 4,400 for the same period, an estimated 14,000 Jews would have had to have left South Africa during the intercensal period.

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[31] A "new immigrant" is a person entering to take up permanent residence in Israel under the Law of Return or the Law of Entrance. A "potential immigrant" is a foreign subject who is entitled to an immigrant visa according to the Law of Return and intends to stay in Israel for a period exceeding three months. Potential immigrants are not Israeli citizens nor permanent residents but may apply to obtain either or both statuses. The data also include tourists who changed their status to new or potential immigrant. In recent years, over 90 percent of South African *aliyah* has been composed of potential immigrants. It should be noted that because of different classification criteria in the two countries, persons registered as immigrants in Israel may not have been recorded as emigrants in South Africa.

[32] See William D. Rubinstein, *The Demography of the Australian Jewish Community 1981,* Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs, Research Report no. 1 (Melbourne, 1986).

[33] Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, unpublished data. The number and percentage of the 1970–1979 South African *olim* staying in Israel in 1980 was probably higher, which results in some overestimate in the assumed number of return migrants. See also footnote 34.

With regard to the destinations of these 14,000 Jewish emigrants, we know that 7,900 initially went to Israel and that 6,100, therefore, went to other countries. In the following years, the latter were joined by former South African *olim* who left Israel and chose not to return to South Africa. If our assumptions are correct, Israel represented the destination of first choice for more than half of those Jews who left South Africa between 1970 and 1980, but retained only roughly one-third of the estimated 12,000 South African Jews (14,000 emigrants minus 2,000 returnees) who had settled abroad permanently.

The basic results of this attempt to reconstruct Jewish population changes between 1970 and 1980 are summarized in table 6. It should be emphasized that only the central values from a much wider range of possibilities are presented. Thus, the Jewish population experienced a moderate annual rate of natural increase: 3.5 per 1,000 vs. 11.4 per 1,000 for total whites. The Jewish birthrate was lower and the Jewish death rate higher than that of total whites, mainly because of the different age structures of the two groups. Immigration rates were similar among Jews and total whites, but Jewish emigration rates were higher. The balance of international migrations was negative for the Jewish population and positive among total whites, despite a deficit in the net migration flows of whites in 1977 and 1978.[35] The average annual net migration rates for the 1970–1980 period were estimated at -3.7 per 1,000 Jews and 4.8 per 1,000 total whites. Overall, the Jewish population declined by a yearly rate of -0.2 per 1,000, as against a yearly increase rate of 18.7 per 1,000 among total whites.[36]

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[34] The main assumption, here, is the total of 2,000 returning immigrants to South Africa. For the sake of simplicity, we assume that all came from Israel. We might also assume that fewer former *olim* returned directly to South Africa, while more went from Israel to other countries, and the balance returned from these countries to South Africa. The assumed fixed constraint of 2,000 return migrants seems to fit better with other data and estimates discussed in this paper. While the extremely tentative nature of these estimates is emphasized, it should be noted that some of the biases introduced by our various assumptions tend to mutually compensate.

[35] The main countries of origin of white immigrants were the United Kingdom and "other African countries" (mainly Zimbabwe). The main countries of destination of white emigrants were the United Kingdom and "other countries in Europe." See *South Africa 1980–81, Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1982).

[36] There was an unexplained discrepancy in published data on total whites between the total amount of population growth between the 1970 and 1980 censuses and the sum of change components: births, deaths, immigration, and emigration. See South Africa Central Statistical Services, *Births: Whites, Coloured and Asians, 1983,* Report no. 07–01–11 (Pretoria, 1985).

Changes Since 1980

After a decline at the beginning of the decade, beginning in 1985 emigration again started to grow substantially. Using figures from South African Jewish community records for 1983 to March 1987 and Israeli immigration statistics for the same period, it is possible to arrive at an assessment of Jewish emigration since 1980. According to these sources, of a total of 3,500 Jewish emigrants,[37] about 50 percent went to Israel. Applying this proportion to the known number of *olim* for the whole period between 1980 and 1987—about 3,000 (see table 5)—we obtain a total of about 6,000 Jewish emigrants. Although not all other destinations can be ascertained, it is known from Australian census returns that between 1981 and 1986, 1,500 to 2,000 immigrated to that country.[38]

While it is difficult to determine the level of total Jewish immigration to South Africa since 1980, official South African sources suggest that from Israel there has been a net influx of about 2,500[39] (this would raise the total number of Israelis from an estimated 3,600 in 1980 to over 6,000 in 1987). Nevertheless, although Jewish immigration and return migration to South Africa have continued as in the past, it is assumed that there has been an ongoing negative migration balance since 1980. Furthermore, by 1985 the increasingly aging Jewish population (see below) had already produced a negative balance of births and deaths. The cumulative effect of these two processes has resulted in a further decline in Jewish population size—estimated conservatively at 115,000 at the end of 1986 (see table 1).

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND TRENDS

The South-Africanization of South African Jewry

BIRTHPLACE

The major transformation of South African Jewry over the years has been its gradual change from an immigrant to a predominantly local-born group.

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[37] Information kindly supplied by Sally Frankental, Kaplan Center, University of Cape Town. The figure is based on the number of Jewish households known to have left and a multiplier of 2.5 persons per household.

[38] Based on the increase in the number of South African-born Jews according to the censuses of Australia, from 1,938 in 1981 to 3,425 in 1986. Information kindly supplied by Walter M. Lippmann, Jewish Social Service Council of Victoria.

[39] See Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Migration of Israelis Abroad*, and unpublished data.

This process of South Africanization of the Jewish population has had significant consequences for most other sociodemographic characteristics and trends. Around 1930, a majority of Jews were foreign-born as compared with about 15 percent of total whites. Subsequently, the diminished impact of immigration brought about a steady increase in the proportion of local-born individuals. The process can be followed by looking at the birthplaces of different age groups among South African Jews in 1980 (see table 7). The South African-born represented 46 percent of the group aged 65 and over, 74 percent of the 45–64 age group, 85 percent of the 30–44 group, and 94 percent of the children below age 15.

According to the 1980 census, 79 percent of Jews were born in South Africa, in comparison with 87 percent of all whites (table 8). The proportion of South African-born Jews in 1980 might have been somewhat larger had it not been for a significant increase of Jews born in Zimbabwe and "rest of Western Europe" as compared with 1970; natives of those countries had grown from 1.0 percent and 0.2 percent, respectively, in 1970, to 1.7 percent and 1.1 percent of the Jewish population in 1980. Furthermore, since emigrants were drawn disproportionately from the younger age groups, increased emigration also reduced the percentage of those born in South Africa. It is also probable that the proportion of local-born Jews was greater outside the main metropolitan areas, since new immigrants tended to concentrate in the larger cities.

The different timing of immigration from various countries is reflected in the age structure of different origin groups within the Jewish population (see table 9). In 1980 the oldest group was the East European, with a median age of 69.4, followed by immigrants born in other West European countries, including Germany (65.1) and the United Kingdom (59.8). On the other hand, immigrants born in other African countries (including Zimbabwe) and Israel were younger, with a median age, respectively, of 30.4 and 28.5. South African-born Jews had a median age of 29.8, as compared with 61.0 for the foreign-born.

CITIZENSHIP

Despite the relatively high proportion of the foreign-born in the Jewish population, 93 percent of Jews were South African citizens in 1980, as compared with 91 percent of all whites (see table 10). This reflects both the tendency of Jews to become naturalized and their relatively low level of immigration since World War II. On the other hand, the influx of Jews from Zimbabwe, Israel, and Western Europe, and probably the emigration of South African nationals as well, led to a 2-percent decline in the proportion of Jewish South African citizens since 1970.

LANGUAGE

One further index of the steady South Africanization of the Jewish community is the decrease in the use of Yiddish and "other European languages" as the primary language at home. Table 11 shows that whereas in 1936 nearly 18,000 Jews (19 percent) spoke Yiddish, this number declined to such an extent that after 1960 it was no longer listed separately in the census returns. In a survey of Jews in six major cities in 1974, 2 percent spoke Yiddish or Hebrew as a primary language and a further 7 percent used one of these languages together with English.[40] By 1980, 94.5 percent spoke English or Afrikaans at home, 1.1 percent spoke a Western European language, and 4.3 percent spoke Yiddish, Hebrew, or some other non-European language. This was similar to the proportion of total whites who spoke a foreign language at home.

Table 11 also provides interesting evidence of the direction of Jewish acculturation in South Africa. Whereas 36 percent of whites spoke English at home and a further 5 percent were bilingual (Afrikaans and English), 92 percent of Jews were English-speaking and 1.5 percent were bilingual. Only 1 percent said that their home language was Afrikaans. Within the white group, Jews constituted only 0.04 percent of Afrikaans-speakers and 6.8 percent of the English-speaking section (see table 1). This reflects the exclusivism of the Afrikaner group, as well as a clear preference on the part of Jews for the more open and cosmopolitan culture of English-speaking South Africans.

Geographical Distribution

COUNTRYWIDE PATTERNS

The earliest Jewish settlement in South Africa was in the Cape Colony, and it was in its capital city, Cape Town, that the first Jewish congregation was formally established in the mid-1840s. With the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, many Cape Jews, as well as a large proportion of immigrants, moved northward. In the 1904 census (table 12), out of a total 38,000 Jews, 51 percent were in the Cape Colony, 41 percent were in the Transvaal Republic, and 4 percent each were in Natal and the Orange Free State. After the formation of the Union, the Jewish population of the Cape continued to decline until stabilizing at just over one-quarter of the total, while the proportion of Jews in the Transvaal had increased to about two-thirds by 1970. In the Orange Free State, after some years of modest growth, the proportion and number of Jews dropped steadily during the post-World War II period. Natal has remained with between 5–6 percent of all Jews over at least two decades.

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[40] SAJPS Advance Report no. 6, *Educational Attainment and Languages.*

The distribution of Jews in the four provinces paralleled the movement from rural areas and smaller towns into larger towns and cities, and from the larger towns into the major metropolitan areas. Jews had always been one of the most highly urbanized white groups—91 percent in 1911 and 99 percent in 1980 lived in urban areas as compared with 52 percent and 88 percent of total whites for the same years—but had, nevertheless, been scattered throughout the country in communities ranging between a few score and some tens of thousands. This process is reflected in table 13; whereas in 1918, 40 percent of Jews had lived outside of the major urban areas, this proportion had decreased steadily so that by 1980 it was only 7 percent (if the towns on the East and West Rand are included). On the other hand, Jewish settlement in Port Elizabeth and East London increased up until 1960, and in Pretoria up until 1970. Thereafter, with the exception of Durban, these communities also began to decline. By 1980, 57 percent of the total Jewish population of South Africa, or 67,820 out of 117,963 individuals, lived in Johannesburg,[41] with a further 23 percent (26,977) in Cape Town.

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION

The patterns of internal migration have not been unidirectional. The two main stages of past geographical mobility within South Africa have been, first, diffusion into a large number of localities, and, more recently, concentration in the largest metropolitan areas. An examination of places of birth of South African-born residents of the major metropolitan areas in 1974 and in 1980 suggests that most of those born in Johannesburg and Cape Town had remained in those cities, and that they constituted the large majority (two-thirds and three-quarters, respectively, in 1974)[42] of the local Jewish population. In the smaller cities, however, locally born Jews made up 47–57 percent of the population. Of the remainder, 18–33 percent had migrated from the two largest cities, the rest being from the smaller towns and villages. Whereas the migratory balance was ultimately positive for

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[41] In the case of the Jewish population, redefinition of census areas affected, primarily, the boundaries of Johannesburg and Germiston and the towns constituting the East Rand between 1960–1970 and 1970–1980. In table 13, the composition of the East Rand is held constant, while Johannesburg and Germiston have been combined. In other tables, the three areas are as defined in the 1980 census, with the East Rand being included as part of "Rest of Country."

[42] SAJPS Advance Report no. 9, *Geographical Distribution and Mobility.*

Johannesburg and Cape Town, it was zero for Durban and negative for the remaining cities.

Reasons for migrating to Johannesburg and Cape Town were not only the lure of the big city, but, in many cases, opportunities for study and work. On the other hand, migration from the two largest cities included many professionals and entrepreneurs who felt that the smaller centers offered better economic opportunities. The numerical stability of the Pretoria and Port Elizabeth communities was maintained primarily by the steady influx from the nearby smaller towns. It is partly because of the virtual disappearance of this source of replenishment that these communities, too, began to decline in recent years. Another possible factor is that with the increased emigration abroad during the 1970s and 1980s of many professionals and others in the higher occupational categories, fewer big-city Jews found it necessary to seek a niche in the smaller centers. The exception to the general trend was Durban: while 15 percent of its Jewish population came from smaller towns, 33 percent were from Johannesburg and Cape Town, and a further 7 percent from the other metropolitan areas. This reflects the general economic expansion of the city during the post-World War II years, and its attractiveness for entrepreneurs, professionals, and others.

One consequence of internal migrations has been the collapse and even the disappearance of organized Jewish community life in scores of small towns and villages throughout South Africa. In most of these places, synagogues and other property have been sold, and all that remains are cemeteries. In many areas there are no longer any Jews at all, while in others only one or two Jewish families are to be found.

Since the mid-1970s and early 1980s, the Jewish population decline of the smaller metropolitan areas has led to serious impoverishment of community life. A case in point is Port Elizabeth. Some 20 years ago the community numbered just under 3,000 persons, maintaining a full set of communal officials, institutions, and amenities—two Orthodox and a Reform synagogue; a Jewish day-school system from preschool to matriculation, a resident *shohet* and a kosher butcher, and so forth. By 1987 the secondary division of the day school had absorbed a large number of non-Jewish pupils (constituting over 40 percent of the total enrollment) in order to maintain itself; there was no longer a *shohet, mohel,* or Orthodox rabbi in town; and the large synagogue was relatively empty on the High Holy Days when, previously, extra sitting space had been needed.

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION IN JOHANNESBURG

Jewish settlement within the metropolitan areas in South Africa follows a pattern common throughout the Jewish world—Jews tend for the most part to concentrate in certain areas. As their socioeconomic position improves, they move into more desirable locations, but the pattern of concentration is constantly repeated. In South Africa residential separation of the various population groups—black, white, colored, Indian, and Chinese—is enforced by law;[43] Jews, as whites, therefore reside in white residential areas.

Although Jews in Johannesburg did not create a ghetto as they did, for example, in Chicago, they tended to cluster within a continuous area. Thus the earliest locus of Jewish residence was concentrated mainly in a band running east and west from downtown (Central, South-Eastern, and South-Western suburbs in table 14). As the community became more affluent, and many of these suburbs became industrialized and run down, Jews started to move northward, toward the northern parts of the central area, the eastern and northern suburbs. These areas remained roughly contiguous, but represented a fairly wide spectrum of socioeconomic levels. By 1960, 80 percent of Johannesburg Jews were concentrated in these areas, constituting in them over a quarter of the total white population. In the period 1960–1980 some Jews began to move out of the central and northern suburbs, mostly eastward to the newly developed suburbs in the east and northeast. To some extent this movement was a response to the establishment of major facilities, such as day schools, in what was at the time a developing residential area most convenient to existing concentrations of Jewish population. As a consequence of movement outward from the city center, synagogues and other facilities built in the areas of early settlement were closed down (though there are some exceptions), and the major Jewish institutions in Johannesburg today are to be found in a broad band running from northeast to west through the northern suburbs. In some of these suburbs Jews constitute the majority of the total white population.[44]

In the other major cities Jews have also tended to concentrate heavily in certain areas, but unlike the situation in Johannesburg, these areas have been scattered, resulting in several geographical foci of Jewish life.

Demographic Characteristics

In discussing the demographic characteristics of the Jewish population, comparisons will be made with other whites rather than with the population as a whole. The justification for this approach is that demographically South

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[43] The Group Areas Act, 1966. Although the act is still in force, it has become government policy to allow areas to become "mixed" if the residents agree. One such area is a central Johannesburg high-rise residential suburb, Hillbrow.

[44] See also SAJPS Advance Report no. 9, *Geographical Distribution and Mobility;* T. Hart and J. G. Browell, *A Multi-Variate Spatial Analysis of the Socio-Economic Structure of Johannesburg, 1970,* University of the Witwatersrand, Urban and Regional Research Unit (Johannesburg, 1976).

African whites resemble other Western populations, while blacks and, to some extent coloreds and Asians, have characteristics more typical of the less-developed countries. Thus, whereas 88 percent of whites, 90 percent of Asians, and 75 percent of coloreds, respectively, lived in urban areas in 1980, this was true of only 38 percent of blacks. The nonwhite groups all had appreciably higher birth and death rates than did whites, resulting in markedly different age distributions. Thus, 28 percent of whites were aged 0–14, 64 percent aged 15–64, and 8 percent aged 65 and over; the proportions of Asians—who differed least from whites—were 37 percent, 61 percent, and 2 percent for the same age groups; among coloreds, children aged 0–14 constituted 39 percent of the population, 58 percent were aged 15–64, and 3 percent were 65 and older; and among blacks the percentages were 40 percent, 57 percent, and 3 percent, respectively.

SEX RATIOS

The sex composition of the Jewish population at the beginning of the twentieth century reflected the recency of its migrant origins (see table 15). High ratios of males per 100 females point to selective immigration of young male adults. Higher sex ratios, as compared to total whites, prevailed among the Jews until about 1960. Subsequently, the decline of foreign-born Jews and the aging of the Jewish population, together with the normally greater longevity of women, brought about a growing numerical predominance of women in the community.[45]

An examination of sex ratios of total whites in 1980, by age, reveals that besides the usual excess of males among young children, sex ratios at ages 30–64 were rather high—an effect of a long period of migratory inflow. On the other hand, sex ratios for Jews of the same ages were rather low, which could be a consequence of stronger emigration or assimilation of Jewish males. The higher sex ratio of Jews at ages 65 and over was an echo of selective immigration in the past, but also reflected comparatively greater chances of survival among elderly Jewish males than among total whites in the same age group. This finding is confirmed by investigations of mortality patterns and estimates of average life expectancy for Jews and total whites of each sex (see above).

The composition of the Jewish population by sex varied in different communities, with a few exceptions to the moderate predominance of women that existed nationally and in the largest cities (see table 18). In 1980 males were more numerous in Pretoria—probably because young men were attracted by government employment opportunities in the nation's capital

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[45] SAJPS Advance Report no. 3, *Demographic Characteristics.*

(see below); in Germiston—because of the comparatively higher proportion of children, and thus, of males, among the Jewish population; and in the very small communities and isolated Jewish households scattered all over the country.

AGE COMPOSITION

The age composition of the Jewish population was greatly affected by immigration until the late 1930s. Thereafter, it was more decisively shaped by changing birth and death rates, although the continuing effects of immigration and emigration remained evident. A significant feature was the "age bulge" formed by the comparatively large number of Jews born during the pre-World War I period, which moved conspicuously through the age structure over time (see table 16). From the 1920s on, South African Jewry witnessed a continuous growth in the proportion of those aged 60 and over—from less than 5 percent in 1926, to 13.1 percent in 1960, and 22.5 percent in 1980. Some of these changes reflected the age composition of Jewish immigration to South Africa. On the other hand, the proportion of children below age 10 declined from 18.2 percent in 1926 to 14.6 percent in 1936, and, following the postwar fertility increase (see below), from 17.3 percent in 1960 to 13.7 percent in 1980—reflecting further reduction in the birthrate and, possibly, the emigration of children. The median age of the Jewish population increased from 25.8 in 1926 to 34.9 in 1980, as compared to 22.8 and 28.1, respectively, among total whites.

In 1980 there were proportionally fewer Jews than total whites in each age group below age 50 and more Jews in each age group above age 50 (table 17). The net effect of recent migration exchanges on the age composition of the Jewish population can be judged by comparing detailed data from the 1970 and 1980 censuses. The strongest decline appeared among the 25–29 age group in 1980 (aged 15–19 in 1970), and more generally among the 20–34-year-olds (aged 10–24 in 1970). On the other hand, the group aged 35–44 in 1980 was, on balance, the most stable between the two censuses. It may thus be inferred that the age composition of Jewish emigrants was younger than that of Jewish immigrants. This is confirmed by the age distribution of South African Jewish immigrants to Israel, which included proportionally far more children and young adults below age 30 than did South African Jewry in both 1970 and 1980. Recent migration movements, therefore, have further accelerated the aging process set in motion by the lowering of fertility since the 1960s.

The consequences of the aging process were quite remarkable at the older end of the Jewish age structure. In absolute numbers, between 1970 and 1980 the 65+ age group increased by over 6,400 persons, or 47 percent of its size in 1970. The 65–69 age group grew by 1,300, or 23 percent; the 70–74 group grew by 1,900, or 46 percent; and the 75+ group grew by 3,200, or 85 percent. Some of these changes reflect the ascent of the already mentioned "age bulge" into the elderly age range. The prospects for further aging are now somewhat less extreme than they were in previous years, because of the relatively "flat" age composition of the age groups from 40–44 to 60–64. But further emigration of younger adults, together with the reduced propensity for emigration among the elderly, may further speed up the aging trend.

Some differences were evident in the age structures of the various local communities (table 18). In 1980 the most youthful group was in suburban Germiston, bordering on Johannesburg, a reflection of the tendency of younger households to move into the newer developing areas. Pretoria appeared to have the highest proportion of adults below age 30. The highest proportion of elderly (aged 65 and over) was found in Port Elizabeth, while Durban and Cape Town, too, had fairly high percentages. Johannesburg differed the least from the country total, which it determined in large part. Finally, the aggregate of smaller communities was probably losing youth and generally stagnating, as shown by the high proportion at ages 45–64.

MARITAL STATUS

About 60 percent of South African Jews aged 15 and over were currently married in 1980 (table 19). Close to 29 percent of males and 20 percent of females were never-married; 3 percent and 17 percent, respectively, were widowed; and smaller percentages were divorced or living together.

The tendency to postpone marriage that has been exhibited in recent years in all Western countries also occurs among South African Jews. Between 1970 and 1980, the proportion already married at ages 25–34 declined from 77 percent to 71 percent among Jewish males, and from 91 percent to 85 percent among Jewish females (table 20). (Marriage postponement did not significantly affect the total whites, among whom in 1980, 83 percent of males and 90 percent of females aged 25–34 were already married.) Between 1970 and 1980, relatively more Jews than non-Jewish whites married after ages 25–34, but not enough to compensate for the much diminished frequency of marriage among younger Jewish adults—males up to 35 and females up to 25. The proportion of ever-married Jews at ages 45–54 continued to be high—above 95 percent and similar to total whites—but this was mainly a reflection of the higher marriage propensities of the past. Based on the continuation for an indefinite period of the rhythm of family formation observed in the different age groups between 1970 and 1980, over 95 percent of total white males and over 92 percent of total white females could be expected to marry at some time. Among Jews, the percentage ever marrying would be substantially smaller than in the past—88 percent of males and 82 percent of females.

Compared to other Western countries, the recent slowdown in family formation among South African Jews was moderate. In North America, the expected rates of eventual marriage—based on a continuation of the trends of the 1970s and early 1980s—would be lower.[46]

The male-female differential in expected marriage (if the conditions that prevailed during the 1970s were to continue indefinitely) reflected a temporary asymmetry or "squeeze" in the structure of the marriageable Jewish population by sex and age. Considering that men usually marry somewhat younger women, both the 1970 and 1980 census data suggested a more favorable position of Jewish males from the point of view of potential spouse supply. In 1970 there was a countrywide ratio of 185 never-married Jewish women aged 20–34 per 100 Jewish men aged 25–39. In 1980 the same ratio was somewhat more balanced, but, countrywide, there still were 153 never-married females aged 20–34 per 100 males aged 25–39.

The unbalanced sex composition of the marriageable Jewish population reflects past fluctuations in fertility levels and consequent sharp changes in the size of age cohorts, from the smaller ones born during the 1940s to the larger ones born during the 1950s and 1960s. Further reasons could be a higher level of emigration of Jewish males from South Africa, and, possibly, stronger assimilatory processes—with a consequent withdrawal from the Jewish group—among males. Another factor affecting sex ratios at the local level was the different pace of internal migration among young adults of each sex. In Johannesburg, in 1970, the ratio of never-married Jewish women aged 20–34 to five-year-older single Jewish men was 244 to 100—more than twice as many. In 1980 the same ratio was still very high—172 to 100. In several of the smallest communities the imbalance was even greater, though in some cases young Jewish single males were in excess. In turn, these age-sex-marital status imbalances, aside from their direct effect on frequency of marriage and the age-assortment of couples, may powerfully affect other Jewish population trends, enhancing the rate of outmarriage and of outmigration of individuals who cannot find a Jewish marriage partner locally.

The proportion of unmarried young adults living together increased by a factor of four to five over the period 1970–1980. However, the actual percentages reported as living together in 1980 were quite small—overall 1.4 percent of Jewish males and 1.2 percent of Jewish females aged 15 and over. The highest frequencies of Jewish persons living together appeared among men 25–29 years old (3.8 percent) and women 20–24 years old (3.4 percent). These rates were only slightly higher than among total whites. We lack information concerning further instances of cohabitation included in the larger "never-married" category.

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[46] See Sergio DellaPergola and U. O. Schmelz, "Demographic Transformations of American Jewry: Marriage and Mixed Marriage in the 1980s," in *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* (New York-Oxford, 1988).

An increase in the proportion of divorced persons is another aspect of changing family behavior. Thus, 3 percent of Jewish men and 5 percent of Jewish women per 100 ever-married in the 35–44 age group were divorced in 1970. The corresponding figures in 1980 were 5 percent and 8 percent, respectively. Among total whites the increase in divorced persons per 100 ever-married aged 35–44 was somewhat less, from 3 percent among males and 4 percent among females in 1970 to 4 percent and 6 percent, respectively, in 1980. Proportionately more Jews than total whites were currently divorced. This increase contrasts with the high value placed on family cohesion within the Jewish community in the past. It also suggests that there were fewer remarriages than in the past—especially of women—in cases of family disruption. According to 1974 survey data, over one-half of Jewish divorcees were granted a civil divorce only, and less than half were divorced by a Jewish rabbinical court (with or without a civil divorce).[47]

MIXED MARRIAGE

Only fragmentary data exist on the frequency of mixed marriage among South African Jews. According to the 1974 survey, in the major Jewish communities only 1.3 percent of married Jews of all ages had a currently non-Jewish spouse—2.3 percent of Jewish husbands and 0.3 percent of Jewish wives; another 1.1 percent were married to a spouse who had been converted to Judaism. Translated into household terms, this 1.3 percent of outmarried Jews corresponded to an overall figure of 2.6 percent of existing mixed couples, ranging from 5.1 percent in Durban and 4.9 percent in Bloemfontein, to 3.5 percent in Cape Town, 1.9 percent in Johannesburg, and 1.6 percent in Pretoria.[48] While these in all likelihood are underestimates, some sense of the ongoing trend can be obtained by comparing these same data across two generations. The percentages of the outmarried among adult children of heads of households—again, regardless of age—were higher: 7 percent had a currently non-Jewish spouse and another 3 percent had a converted Jewish spouse.

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[47] SAJPS Advance Report no. 13, *Marriage and Mixed Marriage.*

[48] The proportion of mixed marriages is always greater for couples than for individuals, because a homogamous Jewish marriage appears only once in the count of couples but twice in that of the component individuals. See SAJPS Advance Report no. 13, *Marriage and Mixed Marriage.*

Some further, admittedly outdated, indication of the extent of mixed marriage comes from a survey of synagogue marriages in Johannesburg over the period 1966–1970.[49] At that time 85 percent of marriages were Orthodox and the remainder were Reform. Of grooms marrying in an Orthodox synagogue, 1 percent were converts, while the figure for brides was 2 percent. Among Reform marriages, however, 7 percent of grooms and 27 percent of brides were converts, with another 5 percent of each sex not reporting religion at birth. Considering that Johannesburg was at the low end of the South African continuum in terms of outmarriage frequencies, and that civil marriages or marriages with a non-Jewish religious ceremony were not reported in these data, it was tentatively suggested that the percentage of Jewish grooms or brides marrying a non-Jewish spouse who did not convert to Judaism might range between 8 percent and 14 percent in the 1970s and between 15 percent and 24 percent in the 1980s.[50] While these figures are little more than conjectural, it seems quite certain that in the particular context of South African society, the diffusion of mixed marriage was slower and at lower levels than among Jewish communities in most other Western countries.

That this may indeed have been the case is reinforced by some further comparative data on attitudes toward intermarriage that may underlie differences in actual outmarriage rates. In 1974 only 5 percent of Jewish heads of household in South Africa were indifferent to, or held a positive attitude toward, possible intermarriage of their children.[51] The corresponding percentage in one Jewish community in the United States, Boston—roughly twice the size of South African Jewry—was 37 percent in 1975 and 39 percent in 1985.[52] The actual percentages of Boston Jewish residents who outmarried in their first marriage were 20 percent in 1971–1975 and 29 percent in 1981–1985.[53] Assuming the existence of some relationship between social attitudes and behavior, the corresponding percentages for South African Jews must be considerably lower.

FERTILITY

The evolution of South African Jewish fertility levels over the past 50 years can be reconstructed along broad lines on the basis of several sources of data. According to a survey conducted in Johannesburg in 1935, Jewish women aged 45 or over had borne an average of 3.9 children, compared with an average of 4.6 for urban whites and 6.4 among rural whites.[54] The average number of children per Jewish woman was 4.0 in the least affluent Johannesburg suburbs and declined to 3.2 in the most affluent areas. It could be expected that the increasing socioeconomic status of Johannesburg Jews would result in a further decline of Jewish family size. Taking into account the younger women as well, married Jewish women had 2.6 births on average, as compared to 3.6 in the white population. These figures, while showing lower Jewish fertility than among total whites, also indicated that in South Africa fertility levels were higher than in the United States or England at the same time.[55]

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Sherry Israel, *Boston's Jewish Community: The 1985 CJP Demographic Survey* (Boston, 1987).

[53] Ibid.

Detailed birth histories collected in 1974, in the framework of the sample survey in the six major Jewish centers, offered the basis for a retrospective evaluation of Total Fertility Rates (TFR)[56] between the early 1940s and the mid-1970s (see table 21). Around 1940 the Jewish TFR was 2.1—the level that ensures generational replacement and population stability in the long term, under conditions of low mortality and the absence of external migrations—as against 3.1 among total whites. From the experience of Jewish populations in several other Western countries, we know the TFR had declined to below replacement level during the 1930s. In the United States, for example, the Jewish TFR was estimated at 1.3 around 1935, and 1.5 around 1940, as against 2.1 and 2.3, respectively, among total whites.[57] In South Africa, too, the Jewish birthrate appeared to be quite low during the 1930s, at a time of economic depression and under the impact of Jewish immigration from low-fertility European countries. Jewish fertility had probably started to rise by the beginning of World War II. This trend continued until the mid-1950s, when the TFR reached a level of 3.1 among Jewish women vs. 3.4 among total white women. The late 1950s and 1960s witnessed a moderate reduction in Jewish fertility levels, which preceded a similar trend among total whites by several years.

It should be noted that during the 1940s the fertility levels of Jewish women—though lower than average—increased much more rapidly than among total whites, and that subsequently the TFRs of Jews in South Africa were closer to those of the total (white) population than had been the case in the United States, Canada, or France.[58]

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[54] Sonnabend, *Statistical Survey of Johannesburg.*

[55] See Patrick Festy, *La fécondité des pays occidentaux de 1870 à 1970*, Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques, Travaux et Documents, Cahier no. 85 (Paris, 1979); Sergio DellaPergola, "Patterns of American Jewish Fertility," *Demography* 17, no. 3 (1980): 261-73; Barry A. Kosmin, "Nuptiality and Fertility Patterns of British Jewry 1850-1980: An Immigrant Transition?" in D.A. Coleman, ed., *Demography of Immigrants and Minority Groups in the United Kingdom* (London, 1982), 245-61.

[56] The TFR expresses the number of children that would be born under the assumption of continuation of the age-specific fertility levels observed for a certain period.

[57] DellaPergola, "Patterns of American Jewish Fertility."

For the more recent period, only the cruder fertility measure represented by the Child-Women Ratio (CWR)[59] is available. Around 1970, for which year both TFR and CWR are available, the ratios between Jews and total whites obtained from either measurement technique were quite consistent. This allows for cautiously inferring more recent trends in fertility levels. Moderate declines occurred during the early 1970s for both Jews and total whites. During the late 1970s the fertility decline was much sharper—close to 20 percent less than in the preceding five-year period. The TFR for Jews possibly reached a level of about 2.4 in 1970–1974 and 1.9 in 1975–1979, as against roughly 2.9 and 2.3, respectively, among total whites.[60] The TFR for Jews in the United States and Canada at the same dates was estimated at 1.5–1.6, as against 1.7–1.9 among total whites.[61] In South Africa, fertility started declining later, and current levels at the end of the 1970s were higher than in most other Western countries. Thus, Jewish fertility patterns, although also low, were quite exceptional in the framework of the contemporary Diaspora.

Data from the 1974 survey on the number of children born to Jewish women, according to socioeconomic characteristics of husbands, provide further details.[62] Among older women, aged 55 and over in 1974, a reverse relationship prevailed between the occupational status of husbands and family size. This was consistent with the conventional relationship between educational levels and fertility and probably reflected the preference for smaller families and more effective family planning of the more educated and upwardly mobile Jewish households. Among the intermediate 35–54 age group in 1974, the relationship between socioeconomic status and family size had shifted to a U shape. This probably indicated a positive impact of higher income on fertility after the general spreading of moderately high educational levels among the Jewish population. Among younger women up to 35, whose families were still incomplete, the socioeconomic status-fertility relationship tended again to be negative, pointing to a later start and slower pace of family growth among the more educated and upwardly mobile.

The major explanation for South African Jewish fertility patterns at the community level, then, seems to be tied to the substantial improvement in socioeconomic standards since the end of World War II and continuing through the late 1970s. Relatively high income, adequate housing, and, in particular, easily available domestic help probably facilitated the formation of comparatively larger families. In a broader societal perspective, this clearly reflected the preferential status of whites, including Jews, in the unequal socioeconomic context of multiracial South African society. Nevertheless, the postponement of marriage among younger Jewish adults, which has already been noted, more efficient fertility control, and the general political and socioeconomic situation in recent years combine to make it highly probable that a further decline of Jewish fertility levels must already have begun by 1980.

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[58] Sergio DellaPergola, "Contemporary Jewish Fertility: An Overview," in U.O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. DellaPergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1981* (Jerusalem, 1983), 215-38.

[59] Ratio between the number of children aged 0–4 and the number of women aged 20–39.

[60] See South Africa Central Statistical Services, *Births: Whites, Coloureds and Asians, 1983.*

[61] U. O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in U.S. Jewish Demography,* Jewish Sociology Papers, American Jewish Committee (New York, 1988).

[62] SAJPS Advance Report no. 7, *First Data on Fertility.*

FAMILY SIZE

In 1974 the average number of persons in Jewish households in the six major centers was 3.35, of whom 3.30 were Jews.[63] The survey did not cover Jewish persons in institutions; servants and other permanent household personnel were also not counted as household members. Household structure by relationship to the head was typically nuclear, with 30.1 percent being heads of households (including persons living alone), 23.6 percent spouses, 42.6 percent children, 3.3 percent other relatives, and 0.4 percent nonrelatives. Since 1974, the decline of fertility, an increase in the percentage of the elderly, postponement of marriage, and international migrations can be expected to have resulted in a steady decline in Jewish household size.

Socioeconomic Characteristics

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Even during the early years of settlement, Jewish immigrants, while struggling to make a living, realized the value of education in optimizing the opportunities offered in their new country, which itself was young and full of potential. This was consistent, of course, with traditional attitudes toward study—albeit primarily in the religious sphere—which characterized Lithuanian and other Eastern European Jewry. Thus one hears again and again of immigrant parents stinting themselves in order to educate their children, including, if at all possible, giving at least one of them, particularly a son, university training. During these early days it was not only parents who made sacrifices but also often other relatives. Even siblings frequently helped to educate a promising brother or sister. As Jews prospered, however, it became possible for more families to provide all or most children with whatever education and training they were capable of receiving.

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[63] SAJPS Advance Report no. 3, *Demographic Characteristics.*

Over several decades, census and other data have shown that South African Jews have been better educated than total whites and, more specifically, than the urban whites whom they most closely resemble.[64] In more recent years, especially since 1960, the overall educational levels of both urban whites and the Jewish population have steadily improved. Among Jews, the older immigrant generation, whose level of general education was relatively low, was gradually being replaced by the better-educated local-born, and by more recent immigrants from Western countries. At the same time, both Jews and total whites lost a proportionately large number of the better-educated through heavy emigration during the second half of the 1970s.

The improvement in educational standards was more marked among whites as a whole than among Jews, so that by 1980 the educational gap between them had narrowed somewhat—although it remained substantial (see table 22). Thus, while 4 percent of both Jews and total whites aged 20 and over had not gone beyond primary education, 70 percent of Jews and 49 percent of total whites had at least completed secondary school (grade 12)[65] or attained a nondegree diploma.[66] Of these, 14 percent of Jews and 6 percent of total whites had a bachelor's degree or the equivalent, and another 1.4 percent and 0.8 percent, respectively, held a master's degree or a doctorate.

It should be noted that levels of education of the main racial and ethnic groups reflect the effects of conventional and legal discrimination against people of color in South Africa. Thus, in 1980 more than half of coloreds and blacks and 39 percent of Asians aged 20 and over had no more than primary schooling. At the upper levels, 15 percent of Asians, 7 percent of coloreds, and 4 percent of blacks had matriculated or obtained a nondegree diploma; of these, 2 percent of Asians and less than 1 percent of coloreds and blacks had obtained university degrees. Although the educational levels of these groups have been steadily improving, both the quantity and quality of their education is still far inferior to that of whites.

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[64] SAJPS Advance Report no. 6, *Educational Attainment and Languages.*

[65] Each province in South Africa uses its own terminology to designate grades and its own cutoff points between primary and secondary school. In this paper, Sub (standard) A, Sub B, and Standard 1 through Standard 5 represent grades 1 through 7 and are defined as primary education. Secondary education is from Standard 6 through Standard 10 (or Matriculation), i.e., grades 8 through 12.

[66] "Nondegree diplomas" did not, in all cases, require matriculation level. The category includes a proportion of persons, therefore, who did not complete secondary school.

Variation in educational level of the Jewish population aged 15 and over in 1980, by sex, age, and major metropolitan area is shown in table 23. The major difference, by sex, was the higher proportion of Jewish males with completed university education: 20 percent, compared with 10 percent of women.

Educational differences between age groups clearly reflect the continuous improvement of the overall level over time. The oldest group, those aged 65 and over, included fairly high percentages of persons with a low level of education: 12 percent below grade 8, and, overall, 55 percent below grade 12. These proportions decreased, while the percentage of university graduates increased, from 7 percent among the 65+ age group to 14 percent among the 45–64 age group and to 20 percent among the 30–44 age group. The youngest group (15–29) included a high proportion who had not completed their education and, therefore, a lower proportion with degrees. A similar growth pattern appeared across age groups with regard to the proportion holding nondegree diplomas—from 7 percent at ages 65 and over to 23 percent at ages 30–44.

Only minor differences existed in the educational level of Jews in the different metropolitan areas. The proportion with a completed university education ranged between a maximum of 17 percent in Pretoria and a minimum of 13 percent in Durban, while the proportion of those without matriculation was 28 percent in Pretoria and 36 percent in Durban.

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

In common with other Western Jewish communities, South African Jews are better educated than other whites and are overrepresented in professional and managerial occupations. This, together with their income and residential distribution, suggests a disproportionately middle- and upper-middle-class population.

Upward economic mobility of Jews in South Africa has been rapid. To a much greater extent than in the United States and Britain, which already had highly developed economies, South Africa was a land of opportunity for immigrants. Hard work, initiative, and a measure of good luck were sufficient to establish an individual independently in business in a country with a large and unsophisticated rural population. The discovery of gold and diamonds, the consequent need for goods and services, and the easy spending habits of the miners also provided economic openings. If the urban experience and skills of Jews were an asset to their advancement in the United States, they were an even greater asset in South Africa at the end of the nineteenth century. The South African situation also favored Jewish economic progress in another way: whereas in the United States and Britain

Jewish immigrants without skills or training were absorbed as laborers, this was not the case in South Africa. There, most unskilled labor was performed by blacks, so that the immigrants were virtually forced into entrepreneurial activities. Thus, in South Africa it was often the immigrants themselves who moved up the socioeconomic ladder.

Considerable changes in the structure of the Jewish labor force were involved in this process of integration and mobility within South African society.[67] Table 24 compares the occupational characteristics of Jews before World War II with those of more recent years. The number and percentage of Jewish professionals and administrators dramatically increased at the expense of salesmen and production workers—although even in the 1930s the latter constituted a relatively small part of the Jewish labor force.

Although in recent years many of the laws governing the strict division of labor between the races have been amended or repealed, the castelike arrangements of the South African labor force were still evident in the 1980 figures. A comparison of the occupational distribution of the major racial and ethnic groups exhibits, as in the case of education, a wide cleavage between whites on the one side and coloreds, Asians, and blacks on the other. Regarding participation in the total work force, whites had a higher proportion of economically active persons than all other groups—which is mostly explained by the lower proportion of children among whites (table 25). Within only the male work force, however, proportionately three times more coloreds and blacks than whites were agricultural workers; half the coloreds and blacks and 40 percent of Asians were production workers. Women in service and production numbered 9 percent among whites as against 58 percent among coloreds, 46 percent among Asians, and 53 percent among blacks. For the latter three groups these categories involved mainly menial work, including, especially among black women, domestic service. Higher-status blue- and white-collar occupations were consistently and significantly less frequent among coloreds and blacks. Among the highly urbanized Asians, however, the proportion of professionals was about half that of whites; the proportion of male clerical and sales workers was greater than that for whites and the same was true of female Asian sales workers.

Looking at Jews in the context of the white population, we find that the overall differences between Jews and total whites remained relatively stable. Even the comparatively urbanized and high-status white Anglicans (Episcopalians) had intermediate characteristics between Jews and other whites (see table 25). Jews retained their concentration and overrepresentation in professional, administrative, and sales occupations, while relatively few of them were engaged in the lower white- and blue-collar occupations. Among Jews, as among all whites, between 1970 and 1980 there was an increase in the proportion of professionals and administrative personnel and a decrease in sales and production workers, as well as among the few Jews in agriculture.

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[67] SAJPS Advance Report no. 10, *Occupational Characteristics.*

Changes in the overall white occupational structure were probably due to real occupational mobility as well as to a significant positive migration balance among professionals in particular. Upward changes in the Jewish occupational structure reflected the retirement of elderly and less educated workers and their replacement by younger and better-educated ones. Moreover, a unique combination of immigration and emigration possibly resulted in a bias toward an occupationally better-established population. The significant emigration of younger adults, still at the beginning of their working careers, and their replacement by somewhat older immigrants, is also reflected in the higher proportion—and absolute size—of the work force in 1980 as compared to 1970, despite an overall decrease in Jewish population size.

Table 26 analyzes the changes in the occupational distribution of Jews over the periods 1960–1970 and 1970–1980. The net balances mainly reflect the outflow from the labor force of elderly persons in production and sales and the inflow of younger people in professional, technical, and service occupations. Between 1970 and 1980 the professionalization of the Jewish labor force was the leading theme of change, especially for males. Occupational changes among women involved their entering a broader range of occupations—sometimes as substitutes for upwardly mobile men—but here, too, professionalization prevailed.

Jews were not only concentrated in certain characteristic occupational groups but also in specific occupations. Thus, among professionals, 30 percent of Jews in 1980, as compared with 18 percent of whites, were in medical and allied fields (see table 27). There were similar large and disproportionate concentrations of Jews in public accounting, the legal profession, and, to a lesser degree, in the arts. On the other hand, only about a third as many Jews as other whites were engineers, architects, and physical scientists. It is difficult to gauge the proportion of Jews employed in university teaching and research, as the various fields are included in several professional categories.

The major sex-related differences in the Jewish occupational structure in 1980 were in administrative, managerial, and clerical occupations (see table 28). About one in four (24 percent) economically active Jewish males in 1980 was an administrator or manager, as against only 6 percent of females. On the other hand, 7 percent of males and 45 percent of females were clerical workers. Professional and technical work constituted the largest major occupational group for Jewish males (31 percent) and the second largest for females (28 percent). Men were also relatively more numerous in sales and production.

The occupational profiles of different age groups reflected the significant socioeconomic structural changes within the Jewish population over the past decades. Passing from older to younger age groups, the proportion employed in professional and technical occupations generally increased. The same occurred with administrative and service occupations, the latter also including managerial posts. On the other hand, consistent declines related to age appeared in the once dominant sales sector (from 33 percent of employed Jews aged 65 to 14 percent at ages 15–29), in the small blue-collar production sector, and among the few Jews in agriculture. The comparatively large proportion of Jews in clerical occupations and the low share of administrators among the 15–29 age group reflected for many a stage of entrance into the labor force that would be followed by movement to higher occupational categories.

Some minor variations in the occupational distributions of the six major Jewish communities may be observed in table 28. The single most salient difference was that in Pretoria, the administrative capital of South Africa, 13 percent of Jews were in service occupations, compared with 4 percent for all Jews nationally. As might be expected, few Jews in the metropolitan areas were engaged in agriculture, while farmers constituted a small but visible (6 percent) share of the Jewish labor force in smaller towns and rural areas. These small communities also featured comparatively high proportions of Jews in sales, services, and production, and relatively low proportions in professional, administrative, and clerical occupations. The highest percentage of professional and technical workers was in Cape Town (32 percent); Durban had the highest share of administrators and managers (21 percent); Johannesburg the highest clerical concentration (23 percent); and Port Elizabeth the highest proportion of sales workers (31 percent).

WORK STATUS

A relatively large percentage of the Jewish labor force was made up by employers, including the self-employed. According to the 1980 census, 25 percent of all economically active Jews and 34 percent of Jewish males were employers. The comparable figures for whites were 11 percent for both sexes and 14 percent for males. Looking first at the relationship between occupation and work status (table 29), the two extremes were agriculture, where over 80 percent of Jews were independent farmers, and clerical occupations, in which over 97 percent were employees. In each of the other occupational branches, the proportion of Jewish employers ranged between 35 percent (sales) and 24 percent (services).

Variation in work status by sex and age was significant and reflected the occupational differences already noted. Being an employer was over three times more frequent among males than among females (see table 30). A more interesting feature, however, was the constant decline in the proportion of employers from the older to the younger age groups. Along with life-cycle effects, this reflected a turn from small, family-owned businesses in trade and manufacturing to employee status in large business corporations, professional firms, and public administration. These changes, which directly stem from the much increased educational level of the younger generation, carry significant implications for the position of Jews in the general socioeconomic fabric of South Africa. These same factors probably also account for the 3-percent decrease in the proportion of Jewish employers between 1970 and 1980.

While the proportion of Jewish employers was quite similar in the different metropolitan areas, it was lowest in Johannesburg. In part this may be due to the fact that most public companies are based in Johannesburg, and while Jews may be employed in high-status positions there, they are nevertheless employees in those firms. Secondly, it may be that occupational opportunities in Johannesburg attract many young Jews, who are at the start of their careers, from the smaller centers. Interestingly, Port Elizabeth had a significantly higher proportion of employers than the other larger centers. This is consistent with the large number of Jews who classified themselves as sales workers. These people were probably owners of small shops and reflected an earlier developmental stage in the economic structure of South African Jews. A similar situation, in all likelihood, prevailed in the smaller centers.

INDUSTRY AND TYPE OF EMPLOYER

Turning now to the various economic branches, table 31 shows that Jews were heavily overrepresented in trade (33 percent), finance (20 percent), services (23 percent), and manufacturing (19 percent). Somewhat paradoxically, given their large involvement in trade, only 22 percent of Jews defined themselves as sales workers (see table 29), despite the fact that about 40 percent of the Jewish labor force was employed in sales occupations and/or in the trade sector. The probability is that owners of, or workers in, medium-sized businesses may have preferred to describe themselves as managers and administrators. What is of particular importance, however, is that Jewish participation in manufacturing (according to more detailed data not presented here) is, more often, as owners—17 percent against 4 percent for all whites—or administrators, rather than as production workers. This gives Jews a pivotal position in the manufacturing industry. The role of Jews as large employers of black labor in industry and trade, especially in the Johannesburg and Witwatersrand areas, could also have important and possibly negative implications for black attitudes during the present period of economic and political upheaval.

About 86 percent of economically active Jews were employed in private business enterprises, including public shareholder corporations, as against 11 percent overall employed by the government and other public authorities, and 3 percent employed by nonprofit organizations (see table 31). With only a few exceptions, private employment, including corporations, was predominant in each industrial branch. Thus, the proportion in the private sector ranged from over 99 percent of Jews in finance and trade to over 95 percent in manufacturing, construction, and agriculture, over 80 percent in transport, and 42 percent in services. In the latter branch, central government and provincial and local authorities constituted the main employers (44 percent), with nonprofit organizations employing 13 percent (see bottom line of table 31). Public-authority corporations were significant employers only in the small transport branch.

From the point of view of type of employer, it appears that the central government and the provincial and local authorities and nonprofit organizations were almost exclusively concentrated in the services branch, while public utilities—mainly gas, water, and electricity suppliers—appeared as employers in transport and manufacturing. With regard to the private business sector, 38 percent of economically active Jews were employed in trade, followed by finance (23 percent), and manufacturing (21 percent) (see upper part of table 31).

The basic characteristics of the Jewish labor force, by type of employer, did not vary substantially by sex, age, or place of residence (see table 32). Jewish women worked more often than men for provincial administrations and nonprofit organizations, but still almost 80 percent of those employed worked in the private sector. A steady increase in the propensity to work for government and other public authorities appeared among younger adults, reaching 20 percent among the 15–29 age group. This was mainly the result of the concentration in Pretoria of a group of highly trained young professionals and administrators attracted by employment opportunities with the central government. But even in Pretoria the overwhelming majority of young adults was employed in private business enterprises.

In comparison with the United States and other Western communities, the proportion of South African Jews with a university education or in professional occupations was not particularly high in 1980. There probably remains substantial room for further socioeconomic mobility in the same direction as has been experienced over the last decades. There is, however, one area in which some alteration in the previous pattern of occupational mobility might be expected. Given the increasing tendency in South Africa toward large corporations, many Jewish family businesses have become public companies with boards of directors, salaried executives, and, frequently, large minority shareholders. Thus, whereas previously a son could expect favorable employment in his father's store or factory, with the possibility of eventually taking over, these expectations have now been modified by the more complex and competitive administrative structure of the large public corporations. It is possible that in future years the upward occupational mobility of Jews—which has already slowed in relation to the general population—may show a leveling-off trend, although this will not be precisely reflected in occupational and work-status categories as used in the census.[68]

INCOME

Income levels reflect the differences in socioeconomic stratification of Jews and total whites. According to the 1980 census, 68 percent of Jews and total whites aged 15 and over reported some income (table 33). Of these, Jews reported a median annual per capita income of 8,323 South African rands (worth US $6,658 in 1980), vs. 6,139 rands ($4,911) among total whites—36 percent more. Among total whites the rural population had a slightly higher average income than urban residents, which points to the relatively prosperous economic situation of white farmers in South Africa. Among Jews, professionals and administrators had higher incomes than workers in other occupations; at peak career ages (45–64), the median income of Jewish professionals was 35 percent higher than that of total Jews with some income.

ASPECTS OF JEWISH COMMUNITY LIFE

Jewish Identification

While an analysis of demographic characteristics and trends is basic to an understanding of past growth and future prospects of any population, these demographic features are themselves closely bound up with a wide range of values, attitudes, and behavior. These last-mentioned factors are especially relevant in any discussion of the patterns of continuity and cohesion of a religious-ethnic community. Brief reference has already been made to some aspects of formal community organization among South African Jews, as well as to the issues of assimilation and mixed marriage. In this section we will discuss some of the ways in which Jews identify themselves as such and as part of a Jewish community.

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[68] Mervin Cohen and Allie A. Dubb, "Some Socio-Economic Aspects of the South African Jewish Population According to the Official Census of 1970," in U. O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. DellaPergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography, 1973* (Jerusalem, 1977), 149–70.

The 1974 survey, which included several questions on religious observance, showed that over 80 percent of Jewish households lit Sabbath candles, participated in some kind of Passover seder and/or fasted on Yom Kippur.[69] Between one-half and two-thirds observed at least some of the dietary laws, had a festive meal on Friday nights, and/or, where relevant, celebrated bar/bat mitzvah. Moreover, in over one-third of the households one or more members attended synagogue on the Sabbath, which in the majority of cases referred specifically to the Friday-night service. Only 9 percent described themselves as "fully observant."

These findings match those of an in-depth study of Jewish identification conducted on a sample of Johannesburg Jews in 1968.[70] Both studies suggest, therefore, that select public and family-oriented rituals are most commonly observed, whereas private rituals, such as regular prayer or *tefillin* are performed only by very observant Jews. Similarly, those public and private rituals which require greater effort or commitment—full Sabbath observance, meticulous adherence to dietary laws, rules regarding "family purity," and the like—are also neglected by most Jews. The 1968 study also indicated that the combination of rituals observed by any individual or within a household tended to be arbitrary and idiosyncratic. Furthermore, apart from the completely nonreligious and nonobservant, on the one hand, and the fully observant, on the other, there was no strong relationship between the degree of religious belief and actual observance. The conclusion from the 1968 study was that religious observance, including attendance at Friday-evening and festival synagogue services, was primarily a means of identifying as Jews, rather than an expression of religiosity.

The most significant aspect of Jewish identification among Johannesburg Jews, according to the 1968 study, was in the area of social relations. Thus, three-quarters of the respondents were members (paying and nonpaying) of a synagogue,[71] although less than one-quarter attended services at least once a week. Clearly synagogue affiliation was an important means of formally identifying with the community. Informal social relations were also important: 83 percent of the respondents had only Jews among their closest friends, while 87 percent had only or mostly Jewish acquaintances. In addition, 45 percent said that all their business associates were Jewish, and another 13 percent indicated that most were Jewish. An important conclusion that emerged from the study was that, in Johannesburg at least, it was perceived as being advantageous, both socially and economically, to be Jewish and that this perception was supported by reality.[72]

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[69] SAJPS Advance Report no. 11, *Religion and Religious Observance.*

[70] Dubb, *Jewish South Africans.* Based on a sample of 283 Jews.

[71] In the 1974 survey, for six major metropolitan areas almost 90 percent were paying or nonpaying members. See SAJPS Advance Report no. 12, *Jewish Community Activities.*

Jewish Education

As in other Jewish communities in the West, the main source of Jewish education in South Africa was, for a long time, the afternoon *heder* or some other part-time arrangement. Of all Jews over the age of 15 in 1974, some 70 percent had received a Jewish education in part-time classes, with only 10 percent having attended day schools (table 34). Thus, although over 80 percent had received some Jewish education, the level attained was, on the whole, fairly low, with no more than 17 percent having continued for a while after bar/bat-mitzvah—mostly on a part-time basis—and only 9 percent having taken Jewish studies/Hebrew as a matriculation subject.[73] Until the establishment of a teachers' seminary in 1945, the only facilities for postsecondary or advanced studies were in the university Hebrew departments, and these attracted few Jews. The first yeshivah was started in Johannesburg in the 1960s.

Although day schools for Jewish pupils had been established in the earlier period, the first serious attempt by the community to set up a regular school that would provide not only a Jewish milieu but also Jewish studies as an obligatory and integral part of the curriculum was made in Johannesburg in the mid-1940s, with the opening of the King David School. Over the years the day-school movement expanded, and by 1981-82 there were 24 primary and secondary schools in six centers (table 35). In contrast, the *heder* system had declined in the cities and remained important mainly in the small and dwindling outlying communities.

The First Census of Jewish Schools in the Diaspora, conducted between 1981 and 1983, provides a picture of the current state of Jewish education in South Africa.[74] In 1981-82 a total of 146 schools with 14,300 pupils were affiliated with two boards of education—the larger in Johannesburg and the smaller in Cape Town. This represents a total enrollment of about 55 out of every 100 Jewish children between the ages 3–17. Of these, only 8 out of 100—a total of 2,224 pupils—were enrolled in supplementary schools (*hadarim*). Of the remainder, 3,765 attended Jewish nursery schools and 8,311 Jewish day schools. Although overall enrollments in the two main cities and in the rest of the country were similar, the distribution differed; the *hadarim* had the highest proportion (one-third) of postnursery enrollment in the smaller centers. In Johannesburg one-fifth of primary- and secondary-school pupils attended afternoon schools, while in Cape Town the proportion in these schools was only 6 percent. It is also noteworthy that, unlike the situation in the United States and several other countries, there appears to be little fall-off between lower and higher grades (1st to 6th and 7th to 12th, respectively) in day schools, so that enrollment at the two levels is quite similar.

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[72] Dubb, *Jewish South Africans*, 92ff.

[73] SAJPS Advance Report no. 12, *Jewish Community Activities*.

[74] Sponsored by the Joint Program for Jewish Education of the State of Israel's Ministry for Education and Culture, the Jewish Agency for Israel, and the World Zionist Organization. See Genuth, DellaPergola, and Dubb, *First Census of Jewish Schools 1981/2–1982/3*, and unpublished data.

An important feature of the Jewish educational system in South Africa, as compared with that in many other Diaspora communities, is the strength of Jewish nursery schools. Indeed, the Jewish community has played an important role in the development of the nursery-school movement in South Africa and, in many places, provides the best available facilities. These facilities are, in most cases, open to non-Jews as well; in 1982 these pupils constituted 20 percent of the total enrollment in Jewish nursery schools. Of all Jewish children of nursery-school age (3–5 years), about 80 percent attended these schools.

While there have always been non-Jewish pupils in Jewish nursery schools, less than 1 percent of day-school pupils were not Jewish in 1981/82. Since then, however, the numbers and proportions have increased considerably. In the smaller centers, the declining number of Jews has made it essential to open the day schools to non-Jews in order to ensure their continued viability. In one of these centers—Port Elizabeth—over 40 percent of pupils in 1987 were not Jewish.

By 1987, due at least partly to emigration and to the falling birthrate, enrollment of Jewish children in Jewish nursery and day schools had fallen by 24 percent and 16 percent, respectively.[75]

In the 1981-82 school census, some 991 teaching posts were reported. Of these, 160 were for Jewish studies in day schools and a further 101 posts were in *hadarim.* Overall, over two-thirds of Jewish-studies teachers in day schools and three-quarters of the teachers in *hadarim* were women, who also comprised 81 percent of general-studies teachers. Two-thirds of Jewish-studies teachers in day schools had some postsecondary Jewish education and 15 percent were ordained rabbis.

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[75] Allie A. Dubb, "Emigration, Population Change and Jewish Education in South Africa in the Eighties," in U.O. Schmelz and S. DellaPergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1985* (Jerusalem, forthcoming).

All the day schools in South Africa were Orthodox, as were over 90 percent of the nursery schools. The remaining 6 percent of nursery schools, as well as 12 percent of *hadarim,* were affiliated with the Reform movement. It should be pointed out that the actual orientation of most of the day schools in South Africa is locally defined as "national traditional"; there are also one modern Orthodox school (in the American sense) and two small *haredi* (ultra-Orthodox) schools. The average number of hours of schooling, in particular of Jewish studies, was lower than in most other countries of the Diaspora: out of an average 26 hours a week of schooling in the three lowest grades on the primary level, 6 hours per week were devoted to Jewish studies. The weekly number of hours increased in the three highest grades of secondary school to a total of 32 hours, with 9 hours of Jewish studies.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The sociodemographic profile of South African Jewry is similar in its broad outlines to that of the Jewish populations in other Western countries. Most Jews had arrived in South Africa from Eastern Europe as part of the mass migrations which began in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Now, a century later, the community is overwhelmingly native-born, highly acculturated to the host society, largely middle- to upper-middle class, relatively better educated than the rest of the population, and concentrated in the professions and other white-collar occupations.

Compared with the total white population, of which they are a part, Jews are an aging population, with a significantly lower (and declining) birthrate, a high life expectancy, and, because of the age structure, a considerable death rate; they also marry later and have a greater proportion who remain unmarried. Jews are an essentially urban population, gravitating toward the major metropolitan areas, where, in general, they have tended to form distinct residential concentrations.

There are, however, certain characteristics of the South African Jewish community that distinguish it from most others in the Western Diaspora. Thus, an increase in age at marriage, a tendency not to marry at all, a decline in family size, and an increasingly unfavorable balance of births and deaths have all appeared later and developed at a slower pace among South African Jewry. It is the only Western Diaspora community in which fertility was still probably above replacement level as recently as 10–15 years ago.

Moreover, South African Jews are not as educated or as highly professionalized as, for example, Jews in the United States.

It is on the community level, however, that the uniqueness of the Jewish population in South Africa is most clearly evident. South African Jewry has a highly centralized structure, with a number of national institutions responsible for funding, planning, and organizing facilities and activities in the fields of education, religious life, welfare, and Zionism. In terms of Jewish identity, the particular kind of pluralism of South African society has minimized both the need for, and the possibility of, large-scale assimilation, while at the same time lending legitimacy to the preservation of a distinctive Jewish ethnic identity. Consistent with this, Jews themselves exhibit a high level of commitment to the local community, Israel, and the Jewish people as a whole. This is expressed primarily in a well-developed Jewish educational network, wide-scale synagogue affiliation, and strong support for Zionism.

The issue of Jewish continuity is an important one throughout the Diaspora. Whereas, however, in Europe and North America the focus is, primarily, on an excess of deaths over births and increasing losses through outmarriage and assimilation, the problem in South Africa is different and more immediate. Since the mid-1970s the country has been in a state of tension and turmoil as a result of black uprisings, riots, and strikes. As the situation has become increasingly serious—and with every sign that blacks are determined to continue the struggle at whatever cost—growing numbers of whites have been leaving the country. With regard to Jews, it is estimated that about 14,000 left South Africa between 1970–1979 (mostly as from 1976), and had it not been for a relatively large number of returnees, as well as relatively large-scale immigration from Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom, Western Europe, and Israel, the Jewish community would have been severely depleted. As it is, these migratory movements significantly affected the demographic and social structure of the Jewish population during the 1970s. In addition, there are indications that the quality of community life suffered through these sociodemographic transformations.

After a period of reduced activity, blacks once again stepped up antigovernment action in the mid-1980s, and this led to another peak in white—and Jewish—emigration, as well as reduced immigration. It is probable that the Jewish rate of emigration will continue to be higher than that of whites in general, for two reasons. In the first place, Jews are relatively better educated and are concentrated in those occupations that are more easily transferable. Secondly, increasing numbers of Jews may begin to feel that the future will be worse for them than for other whites as a consequence of black anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism.

The sociodemographic future of South African Jewry is, then, difficult to predict. While the present balance of internal demographic and identificational factors points to the beginning of a moderate decline in Jewish population size, the crucial factor of external migrations escapes simple projections based on assumed continuation of "present trends." The number and composition of South African Jews will depend, above all, on political developments in the country and on the ways in which Jews respond to them.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, BY RELIGION, ETHNIC GROUP, AND WHITE LINGUISTIC GROUPS, 1980

Religious Denomination	Total	Whites, According to Home Language				Coloreds	Asians	Blacks
		Total[a]	Afrikaans	English	Bilingual			
Total no.[b]	25,016	4,551	2,465	1,610	233	2,624	819	17,022
Row %	100.0	18.2	9.9	6.4	0.9	10.5	3.3	68.0
Column %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Dutch Reformed churches	15.9	45.8	78.8	2.5	36.3	26.1	0.5	7.1
Anglican churches	6.6	10.1	0.5	26.4	7.5	13.8	1.0	4.8
Methodist	8.9	9.3	1.3	21.0	19.0	5.7	0.5	9.7
Presbyterian, Congregational	4.1	3.4	0.4	8.2	4.7	7.4	0.4	3.9
Lutheran	3.6	1.0	0.2	0.7	0.6	3.9	0.1	4.4
Roman Catholic	9.6	8.5	0.6	15.4	6.3	10.2	2.5	10.2
Apostolic	3.1	6.1	9.3	1.8	8.0	9.8	0.5	1.3
African Independent churches	20.8	—	—	—	—	3.1	—	30.1
Other Christian	5.5	8.5	6.0	10.2	11.5	8.5	6.9	4.2
Jewish/Hebrew	0.5	2.6	0.0	6.8	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Islam	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	6.7	20.2	0.1
Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	64.2	0.1
Other or no religion	2.4	1.2	0.5	2.1	1.6	0.8	0.7	3.1
Object to state	2.7	0.8	0.3	1.5	1.0	0.5	0.5	3.7
Unspecified	12.7	2.7	2.1	3.2	2.7	3.4	2.0	17.3

Source: South Africa Central Statistical Services, *Population Census 80, Social Characteristics*, Report no. 02-80-12 (Pretoria, 1985).

[a] Including linguistic groups other than Afrikaans and English.

[b] Thousands.

TABLE 2. THE JEWISH POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1880–1986

Year	Total Population	Total Whites	Total Jews	Whites as % of Total Population	Jews as % of: Total Population	Jews as % of: Total Whites
1880[a]	n.a.	474,309	4,000	n.a.	n.a.	0.8
1904[b]	5,174,827	1,116,806	38,101	21.6	0.7	3.4
1911	5,972,757	1,276,242	46,919	21.4	0.8	3.7
1918[c]	n.a.	1,421,781	58,741	n.a.	n.a.	4.1
1921	6,927,403	1,519,488	62,103	21.9	0.9	4.1
1926[c]	n.a.	1,676,660	71,816	n.a.	n.a.	4.3
1936	9,587,863	2,003,857	90,645	20.9	0.9	4.5
1946	11,415,925	2,372,690	104,156	20.8	0.9	4.4
1951	12,671,452	2,641,689	108,497	20.8	0.9	4.1
1960	15,994,000	3,077,699	114,762	19.2	0.7	3.7
1970	21,447,982	3,773,282	118,200	17.6	0.6	3.1
1980[d]	25,016,525	4,551,068	117,963	18.2	0.5	2.6
1986[e]	28,400,000	4,900,000	115,000	17.3	0.4	2.3

Sources: Unless otherwise noted, all figures in this and subsequent tables are based on official census results published by South Africa Central Statistical Services (formerly Department of Statistics). The figures for Total Population include blacks, Asians, and coloreds (people of mixed race) as well as whites. Because of difficulties in enumerating blacks, in particular, total population figures are underestimates, especially in earlier censuses.

[a] Estimate of total whites for 1880 is the midpoint between 328,000—an unreferenced figure for 1875 quoted by Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz in *The Jews of South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1955), 85, and 620,619—the 1890–91 total for the two Crown Colonies (Cape and Natal) and the two Boer Republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) published in the *Official Year Book* of 1910–1922. Estimate of Jews in 1880 from Saron and Hotz, 89. No estimate of the total population is available.

[b] Official census of the two Crown Colonies and two Boer Republics after the Anglo-Boer War. First census after Union was in 1911.

[c] The 1918 and 1926 censuses were of whites only.

[d] Between 1976 and 1979, three former black homelands (reservations)—Transkei, Bophuthatswana, and Venda—were granted independence by the government of South Africa and were therefore excluded from the 1980 census. After 1980 a further homeland, Ciskei, was granted independence, and its population has been excluded from all population estimates since 1982 as well as from the 1985 census. The exclusion of these former homelands has not affected the white, colored, or Asian populations significantly, except to increase their proportions within the reduced borders of the republic.

[e] Total and white population figures from South Africa Central Statistical Services, "Mid-Year Estimates: 1970–1986." The UN, which does not recognize the independence of the former homelands, has estimated the total South African population at 32,392,000. Jewish population estimate from U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, "World Jewish Population, 1986," AJYB, vol. 88, 1988.

Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 3. GROWTH OF JEWISH AND TOTAL WHITE POPULATIONS, 1880–1980

	Intercensal Change			
	Jews			Total Whites
Period	No.	Total %	Annual %	Annual %
1880–1904	34,101	852.5	9.8	3.6
1904–1911	8,818	23.1	3.0	1.9
1911–1918	11,822	25.2	3.3	1.6
1918–1921	3,362	5.7	1.9	2.2
1921–1926	9,713	15.6	2.9	2.0
1926–1936	18,829	26.2	2.4	1.8
1936–1946	13,511	14.9	1.4	1.7
1946–1951	4,341	4.2	0.8	2.2
1951–1960	6,265	5.8	0.6	1.7
1960–1970	3,438	3.0	0.3	2.1
1970–1980	−237	−0.2	−0.02	1.9

TABLE 4. JEWISH IMMIGRANTS TO SOUTH AFRICA, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, SEX, AND AGE, 1924–1948

	1924–1932	1933–1939	1940–1948
Total no.	13,880	9,070	1,895
% of total white immigrants	27.9	22.8	3.3
Country of Birth			
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Quota countries[a]	88.5	30.4	18.4
Lithuania	55.5	15.2	5.6
Latvia	10.8	4.6	2.5
Poland	16.3	8.5	6.7
Russia[b]	5.9	2.1	3.6
Nonquota countries[a]	11.5	69.6	81.6
United Kingdom[c]	5.4	5.3	49.7
Germany	0.6	58.8	10.8
Other	5.5	1.3	20.9
Sex			
% Males	58.9	49.8	45.1
Age at Immigration			
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
0–14	20.0	17.6	15.9
15–29	47.1	34.6	23.6
30–44	23.8	25.5	31.8
45–64	7.8	16.3	20.7
65+	1.3	6.0	8.0
Median age	24.4	29.4	34.5

Sources: SAJPS Advance Report no. 4, *Country of Birth and Period of Immigration;* Stuart Buxbaum, "A Profile of Jewish Immigration to South Africa Between 1924–1948 and Its Impact Upon the Local Community," in U. O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. DellaPergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1981* (Jerusalem, 1983), 145–62.

[a] See explanation in the text.

[b] Including other quota countries.

[c] Including other British Empire.

TABLE 5. JEWISH EMIGRANTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO PALESTINE/ISRAEL, 1919–1987

	Born in South Africa		Resident in South Africa		
Year	Total (A)	Yearly Average (B)	Total (C)	Yearly Average (D)	Ratio (A)/(C) %
1919–1923	0	0			
1924–1931[a]	61	8			
1932–1938[a]	125	18			
1939–1945	49	7			
1946–5/14/1948	30	12			
5/15/1948–1949	406	271			
1950–1954	386	77	447	89	86
1955–1959	520	104	661	132	79
1960–1964	1,131	226	1,252	250	90
1965–1969	1,467	293	1,719	344	85
1970–1974	2,747	549	3,064	613	90
1975–1976	869	435	1,000	500	87
1977–1979	3,283	1,094	3,829	1,276	86
1980–1982	788	263	837	279	94
1983–1984	574	287	605	303	95
1985–1986	758	379	811	406	93
1987	707	707	737	737	96

Sources: Moshe Sicron, *Immigration to Israel (1948–1953), Statistical Supplement,* Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, Special Series no. 60, and Falk Project for Economic Research in Israel (Jerusalem, 1957); Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel* (Jerusalem, annual publication).

[a] Figures for 1924–1934 relate to South African citizens.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED POPULATION CHANGES AMONG JEWS AND TOTAL WHITES, 1970–1980

Components of Change	Jews[a] No.	Jews[a] Yearly Rate per 1,000	Total Whites[b] Yearly Rate per 1,000
Population in 1970	118,200		3,773,300
Internal change, 1970–1980			
Total	+4,200	+3.5	+11.4
Births	18,700	15.8	19.7
Deaths	14,500	12.3	8.3
External migrations, 1970–1980			
Total	−4,400	−3.7	+4.8
Immigrants	9,600[c]	8.1	7.8
Emigrants	14,000	11.8	3.0
Total change, 1970–1980	−200	−0.2	+18.7
Population in 1980	118,000		4,551,100

[a] Rough estimates, medium hypothesis. See text for explanations.

[b] Rates for total whites do not add and are reported here as they appear in the original official publication. See South Africa Central Statistical Services, *Births: Whites, Coloureds and Asians, 1983,* Report no. 07-01-11 (Pretoria, 1985).

[c] Including return migrants.

TABLE 7. JEWISH AND TOTAL WHITE POPULATIONS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1926–1980 (PERCENT)

Year	Total	Born in South Africa	Foreign Born
Jews			
1926	100.0	45.0	55.0
1970	100.0	76.7	23.3
1980[a]	100.0	79.1	20.9
1980, by age:			
0–14	100.0	93.9	6.1
15–29	100.0	90.7	9.3
30–44	100.0	85.4	14.6
45–64	100.0	73.8	26.2
65+	100.0	45.6	54.4
Total whites			
1926	100.0	85.0	15.0
1970	100.0	89.0	11.0
1980	100.0	87.0	13.0

[a] Authors' processing of census file for the six major metropolitan areas of Jewish residence: Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Germiston. In 1980, 91.5 percent of all Jews lived in these areas.

TABLE 8. JEWISH POPULATION, BY BIRTHPLACE, 1970 AND 1980

	Jews				Whites
	1970		1980[a]		1980
Birthplace	No.	%	No.	%	%
Total	118,120	100.0	108,007	100.0	100.0
South Africa	89,950	76.2	85,725	79.4	87.3
Zimbabwe	1,220	1.0	1,830	1.7	1.1
Other Africa	1,120	1.0	949	0.9	2.6
United Kingdom and Eire	5,110	4.3	4,402	4.1	4.7
Germany (W and E), Austria	3,030	2.6	2,358	2.2	0.8
Rest Western Europe[b]	290	0.2	1,250	1.1	2.4
Lithuania			3,592	3.3	0.1
Latvia and Estonia			227	0.2	0.0
USSR	13,250	11.2	2,622	2.4	0.1
Poland			1,719	1.6	0.1
Rest Eastern Europe			473	0.4	0.2
Israel[c]	2,590	2.2	1,830	1.7	0.0
Other Asia			288	0.3	0.2
Americas	580	0.5	514	0.5	0.2
Australasia	130	0.1	123	0.1	0.2
Unknown	850	0.7	105	0.1	0.0

[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing.

[b] Includes other unspecified European countries.

[c] In the full 1980 census returns, 2,261 persons stated that they were born in Israel. This figure includes non-Jewish persons.

TABLE 9. JEWISH POPULATION, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND AGE, 1980[a]

		Foreign Born						
Age	Born in South Africa	Total	Other Africa	United Kingdom	Other Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Israel	Other
Total no.	85,843	22,524	3,021	4,402	3,212	9,020	1,830	1,030
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0–9	16.3	3.7	5.5	2.5	0.8	0.2	23.3	8.3
10–19	17.3	5.5	17.2	6.1	0.7	0.5	15.6	9.0
20–29	16.7	6.8	26.5	5.8	1.8	0.8	13.0	10.3
30–39	14.8	9.6	20.3	12.4	6.4	2.7	21.3	15.3
40–49	10.6	7.1	10.9	12.1	8.2	2.7	7.8	8.7
50–59	9.6	15.5	7.8	11.3	16.5	21.6	7.8	13.3
60–69	9.3	19.2	7.6	18.8	30.8	22.8	3.8	15.5
70+	5.4	32.6	4.2	31.1	34.8	48.7	7.4	19.5
Median age	29.8	61.0	30.4	59.8	65.1	69.4	28.5	48.2

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[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing.

TABLE 10. JEWISH POPULATION, BY CITIZENSHIP, 1970 AND 1980

	Jews				Whites
	1970		1980[a]		1980
Citizenship	No.	%	No.	%	%
Total	118,120	100.0	108,007	100.0	100.0
South Africa	112,100	94.9	100,488	93.0	91.3
Zimbabwe	690	0.6	978	0.9	0.5
Other Africa			132	0.1	0.9
United Kingdom and Eire	2,520	2.2	2,630	2.4	3.9
Germany (W and E), Austria	260	0.2	206	0.2	0.6
Rest Western Europe[b]			859	0.8	2.2
Eastern Europe	440	0.4	299	0.3	0.1
Israel[c]			1,699	1.6	0.1
Other Asia	1,810	1.5	76	0.1	0.1
Americas			465	0.4	0.2
Australasia			96	0.1	0.1
Unknown	300	0.2	79	0.1	0.0

[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing.

[b] Includes other unspecified European countries.

[c] In the full 1980 census returns, 1,927 persons stated that they were Israeli citizens. This figure includes non-Jewish persons.

TABLE 11. JEWISH AND TOTAL WHITE POPULATIONS, BY HOME LANGUAGE, 1936–1980 (PERCENT)

Year	Total %	English	Afrikaans	Afrikaans and English	Yiddish or Hebrew[a]	English and Yiddish or Hebrew[a]	Other
Jews							
1936	100.0	76.0	2.0	1.0	19.0	n.a.	2.0
1974	100.0	88.4	0.0	1.9	1.8	6.9	1.0
1980	100.0	92.3	0.8	1.5	b	b	5.4[c]
Total whites							
1980	100.0	35.4	54.2	5.1	b	b	5.3[d]

[a] In the census of 1936 there were 17,686 people whose home language was Yiddish, in 1946 there were 14,045, and in 1951 there were 9,970. In subsequent censuses, Yiddish was no longer treated as a separate category. Yiddish and Hebrew were combined in the 1974 survey.

[b] Neither Yiddish nor Hebrew were tabulated.

[c] Thereof 1.1 percent described as "Western European Languages" and 4.3 percent as "Other Languages." Both Yiddish and Hebrew were presumably included in the second category.

[d] Thereof 3.3 percent described as "Western European" and 2.0 percent as "Other."

Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 12. JEWISH POPULATION, BY PROVINCE, 1904–1980

Province	Jews						Whites	Jews as % of Whites	
	1904	1911	1936	1960	1970	1980	1980	1904	1980
Total no.	38,101	46,919	90,645	114,762	118,200	117,963	4,551,068[a]		
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	3.4	2.6
Cape	51.2	35.7	31.1	28.0	27.1	27.5	28.0	3.4	2.6
Natal	3.9	3.1	4.1	5.4	5.7	5.5	12.4	1.5	1.2
Transvaal	40.7	55.2	59.5	63.8	65.3	65.9	52.4	5.2	3.3
Orange Free State	4.2	6.0	5.3	2.8	1.9	1.1	7.2	1.1	0.4

[a] 27,329 whites, or 0.6 percent of the total, were living in the black homelands (reservations) in 1980. Thus percentages of whites in each province have been calculated from the base 4,523,739.

TABLE 13. JEWISH POPULATION, BY METROPOLITAN AREA, 1918–1980[a]

Metropolitan Area	Jews						Whites	Jews as % of
	1918	1926	1946	1960	1970	1980	1980	Whites 1980
Total no.	58,741	71,816	104,156	114,762	118,200	117,963	4,551,068	2.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Johannesburg[b]	34.2	36.0	48.4	51.6	53.7	57.5	17.2	12.1[c]
Thereof: Germiston	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1.2	5.1	2.9	5.5	1.4
Cape Town	15.5	16.3	18.8	19.8	21.7	22.9	10.3	5.7
Durban	2.8	3.4	4.0	4.7	5.1	5.0	7.0	1.8
Pretoria	2.9	3.3	3.3	3.1	3.2	2.9	9.2	0.8
Port Elizabeth	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.6	2.4	2.1	4.1	1.3
Bloemfontein	1.6	1.9	1.2	1.0	1.0	0.6	2.1	0.7
East Rand[d]	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3.3	2.5	2.0	6.2	1.1
West Rand[d]	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1.7	1.9	1.1	4.7	0.6
East London	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.5	1.5	0.9
Rest of country	40.3	36.1	21.0	11.3	7.8	5.4	37.7	0.3

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[a] Boundaries of metropolitan areas in 1980 have been adjusted, as far as possible, for consistency with those for 1960 and 1970. For this reason there are minor discrepancies between this and other tabulations referring to metropolitan areas. The term "metropolitan areas" in Department of Statistics and other published reports refers to several large urban-industrial complexes, each of which comprises one central city plus one or more contiguous smaller cities and/or towns. In some publications, reference is made to the "PWV area," which combines Johannesburg with Pretoria, the East and West Rand, Germiston, Vereeniging, and van der Bijl Park.

[b] Including Germiston. The increase in the number of Germiston Jews between 1960–1970 is probably due to the inclusion of some of Johannesburg's eastern suburbs in the Germiston census district. The subsequent decrease between 1970–1980 may be partly due to further redefinition of districts as well as to a real decline in the Jewish community of Germiston proper. For these reasons Johannesburg and Germiston have been regarded as a single metropolitan area for the purposes of this table. It should also be noted that the towns of Sandton and Randburg are also regarded as part of the Johannesburg metropolitan area and are treated as such in the census tabulations.

[c] Johannesburg only: Jews and total whites in Germiston census district are excluded.

[d] East Rand and West Rand include all the smaller towns and cities on the Witwatersrand goldfields outside of the Johannesburg/Germiston conurbation. For the years 1918 to 1946 they are included in the category "Rest of Country."

Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 14. JEWISH POPULATION IN JOHANNESBURG, BY AREA OF RESIDENCE, 1960–1980

Residential Area[a]	1960			1980		
	No.	%	% of Total Whites	No.	%	% of Total Whites
Total	55,613	100.0	14.0	63,204	100.0	12.9
Southern	841	1.5	1.3	430	0.7	0.5
South-Eastern	4,329	7.8	7.1	1,390	2.2	3.1
South-Western	380	0.7	0.6	346	0.5	0.6
Central[b]	15,551	28.0	25.8	11,679	18.5	17.8
Eastern	16,761	30.1	40.3	25,802	40.8	39.0
Western	5,359	9.6	24.2	6,064	9.6	13.8
Northern	12,392	22.3	25.3	8,446	13.4	23.9
North Eastern[c]	—	—		7,899	12.5	20.0
North Western[d]	—	—		590	0.9	1.3
Far Northern[c]	—	—		558	0.9	2.9

[a] "Residential areas" comprise groups of suburbs. Germiston (see table 13) and "Unknown" have been excluded.

[b] Downtown Johannesburg makes up part of the Central area.

[c] Sandton, a separate municipality, makes up most of the North Eastern and Far Northern suburbs.

[d] Randburg, a separate municipality, makes up most of the North Western suburbs.

TABLE 15. SEX RATIOS (MALES PER 100 FEMALES) AMONG JEWISH AND TOTAL WHITE POPULATIONS, 1904–1980

Year	Jews	Total Whites
1904	211	132
1918	125	105
1926	112	105
1936	114	103
1946	106	101
1951	103	101
1960	99	99
1970	98	99
1980	95	99
1980, by age:		
0–14	107	103
15–29	106	104
30–44	93	105
45–64	85	97
65+	83	69

TABLE 16. JEWISH POPULATION, BY AGE, 1926–1980

Age	1926	1936	1960	1970	1980
Total no.	71,816	90,645	114,762	118,120	117,963
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0–9	18.2	14.6	17.3	15.6	13.7[a]
10–19	21.2	16.9	17.3	17.0	14.8[a]
20–29	18.2	21.0	10.4	14.4	14.4
30–39	15.2	17.6	12.6	10.4	13.6
40–49	13.3	12.9	14.6	11.8	9.9
50–59	8.4	9.7	14.7	12.7	11.1
60+	4.9	7.3	13.1	18.1	22.5
Median age	25.8	28.8	34.0	32.8	34.9

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[a] Published census data on Jewish population by age do not provide a detailed breakdown within the age group 0–19. The distribution given here is based on the Jewish population of the six major metropolitan areas with a combined Jewish population of 108,007. The same percentage of Jews aged 0–19 (28.5) resulted for the six major centers and for the total of South Africa.

TABLE 17. JEWISH AND TOTAL WHITE POPULATIONS, BY AGE AND SEX, 1980

	Jews				Total Whites			
	1970	1980[a]			1970	1980		
Age	Total	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total	Male	Female
Total no.	118,120	117,963	57,478	60,485	3,727[b]	4,551[b]	2,268[b]	2,283[b]
Total %	100.0	100.0	48.7	51.3	100.0	100.0	49.8	50.2
0–4	7.8	6.4	3.3	3.1	10.7	8.6	4.4	4.2
5–9	7.8	7.3	3.9	3.4	10.3	9.5	4.8	4.7
10–14	8.1	7.3	3.7	3.6	10.0	9.4	4.8	4.6
15–19	8.9	7.5	3.8	3.7	9.0	8.9	4.5	4.4
20–24	7.9	7.4	3.9	3.5	8.8	8.6	4.4	4.2
25–29	6.5	7.0	3.5	3.5	8.1	8.1	4.1	4.0
30–34	5.4	7.3	3.6	3.7	6.9	8.1	4.1	4.0
35–39	4.9	6.4	3.1	3.3	5.9	7.3	3.8	3.5
40–44	5.8	5.3	2.5	2.8	5.6	6.0	3.1	2.9
45–49	6.0	4.6	2.2	2.4	5.3	5.0	2.5	2.5
50–54	5.8	5.3	2.4	2.9	4.7	4.6	2.3	2.3
55–59	6.9	5.7	2.6	3.1	4.4	4.2	2.0	2.2
60–64	6.5	5.4	2.5	2.9	3.8	3.6	1.7	1.9
65–69	5.0	6.1	2.9	3.2	2.5	3.2	1.4	1.8
70–74	3.6	5.2	2.5	2.7	1.7	2.4	1.0	1.4
75–79	3.1	3.2	1.4	1.8	1.2	1.3	0.5	0.8
80+		2.6	1.0	1.6	1.1	1.2	0.4	0.8
Median age	32.8	34.9	33.1	36.7	26.1	28.1	27.4	28.8

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[a] Distributions for the 0–19 and 65+ age groups reflect their respective actual sizes in the total South African Jewish population, and their internal breakdown by 5-year age groups among the Jewish population of the six major metropolitan areas.

[b] Thousands.

TABLE 18. JEWISH POPULATION, BY METROPOLITAN AREA, SEX, AND AGE, 1980[a]

	Johannesburg	Germiston	Cape Town	Durban	Pretoria	Port Elizabeth	Rest of Country
Total no.	64,367	4,812	26,975	5,930	3,487	2,436	9,956
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sex							
Male	47.7	51.3	48.0	48.9	54.3	49.7	54.0
Female	52.3	48.7	52.0	51.1	45.7	50.3	46.0
Age							
0–14	21.3	27.0	19.3	19.5	20.6	21.7	20.6
15–29	22.6	22.3	22.6	17.4	24.4	15.6	18.6
30–44	18.7	24.5	18.6	19.4	19.4	19.4	18.1
45–64	20.6	17.4	20.7	23.8	20.8	23.1	25.8
65+	16.8	8.8	18.8	19.9	14.8	20.2	16.9
Median age	34.1	30.4	35.6	39.8	34.1	39.6	36.6

[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing. The "Rest of Country" category was obtained by subtracting the totals for the six major metropolitan areas from those for the total of South Africa.

TABLE 19. JEWISH POPULATION AGED 15 AND OVER, BY SEX, MARITAL STATUS, AND AGE, 1980[a] (PERCENT)

Age	Total	Never Married	Married	Living Together	Divorced	Widowed
			Males			
Total	100.0	28.9	63.6	1.4	2.9	3.2
15–29	100.0	78.3	19.2	1.7	0.8	0.0
30–44	100.0	10.3	83.3	1.9	4.1	0.3
45–64	100.0	5.6	87.6	1.1	4.0	1.7
65+	100.0	6.6	76.1	0.8	3.2	13.3
			Females			
Total	100.0	20.5	57.0	1.2	4.5	16.8
15–29	100.0	61.8	34.2	2.0	1.8	0.2
30–44	100.0	7.3	82.5	1.6	7.0	1.6
45–64	100.0	4.4	75.4	0.7	5.7	13.7
65+	100.0	6.3	34.4	0.4	3.7	55.1

[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing.

TABLE 20. PERCENTAGE EVER-MARRIED AMONG JEWISH AND TOTAL WHITE POPULATIONS, BY SEX AND AGE, 1970–1980

	% Ever-Married				Changes, 1970 to 1980		
	Jews		Total Whites			Increase in % Married	
Age	1970	1980[a]	1970	1980	Age	Jews	Whites
				Males			
15–24	6.0	5.3	14.8	15.0	5–14 to 15–24	5.3	15.0
25–34	77.2	70.9	82.8	83.2	15–24 to 25–34	64.9	68.4
35–44	93.0	93.5	94.0	93.7	25–34 to 35–44	16.3	10.9
45–54	92.8	94.5	95.1	95.4	35–44 to 45–54	1.5	1.4
					Period PEM[b]	88.0	95.7
				Females			
15–24	25.9	18.4	34.0	32.2	5–14 to 15–24	18.4	32.2
25–34	90.5	84.6	91.9	90.3	15–24 to 25–34	58.7	56.3
35–44	95.3	94.4	95.8	95.5	25–34 to 35–44	3.9	3.6
45–54	94.5	95.9	94.0	96.1	35–44 to 45–54	0.6	0.3
					Period PEM[b]	81.6	92.4

[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing.

[b] Percent of a hypothetical cohort that would ever-marry, assuming the age-specific increases in ever-married during observed period remain constant.

TABLE 21. SELECTED MEASURES OF FERTILITY AMONG JEWISH AND TOTAL WHITE POPULATIONS, 1940–1980

	Jews		Total Whites		Ratio
Approximate Date	Fertility (A)	% Change (B)	Fertility (C)	% Change (D)	(A)/(C) %
a. Total Fertility Rates[a]					
1940	2.1		3.1		68
1945	2.7	+29	3.2	+3	84
1950	3.0	+11	3.4	+6	88
1955	3.1	+3	3.4	=	91
1960	3.0	−3	3.5	+3	86
1965	2.7	−10	3.5	=	77
1970	2.7	=	3.2	−9	84
b. Child-Woman Ratios[b]					
1970	0.589		0.726		81
1975	0.547	−7	0.660	−9	83
1980	0.445	−19	0.551	−17	81

Sources: Sergio DellaPergola, "Contemporary Jewish Fertility: An Overview," in U. O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. DellaPergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1981* (Jerusalem, 1983), 215–38; Allie A. Dubb, *Patterns of Fertility and Family Formation Among South African Jewish Women* (Jerusalem, 1979), unpublished paper.

[a] Children that would be born on the average according to age-specific fertility levels prevailing during five-year period around indicated dates. For Jews, five-year periods should be read as follows: 1937–41, 1942–46, 1947–51, etc.

[b] Ratio of children aged 0–4 to women aged 20–39 at date indicated. Based on retrospective estimates from 1980 population census. Jewish population: six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing.

TABLE 22. JEWS AND TOTAL WHITES, COLOREDS, ASIANS, AND BLACKS, AGED 20 AND OVER, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, 1980[a] (PERCENT)

Standard of Education[b]	Jews	Whites	Coloreds	Asians	Blacks
Total					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No education	2.9	1.8	12.6	12.6	23.0
Up to std. 5	1.1	2.4	41.0	26.5	40.9
Std. 6–9	26.0	47.1	39.7	45.6	32.0
Std. 10	38.5	27.9	3.2	9.8	2.6
Nondegree diploma	15.8	13.7	3.2	3.7	1.4
Bachelor's degree	14.3	6.3	0.3	1.7	0.1
Master's and doctorates	1.4	0.8	0.0	0.1	0.0
Males					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No education	1.5	2.3	12.0	5.6	24.9
Up to std. 5	1.0	2.0	37.5	20.8	41.3
Std. 6–9	21.7	43.2	42.4	53.3	29.7
Std. 10	36.7	29.4	4.7	12.9	2.9
Nondegree diploma	16.5	14.1	2.9	4.5	1.0
Bachelor's degree	19.5	8.4	0.5	2.7	0.2
Master's and doctorates	2.3	1.4	0.0	0.2	0.0
Females					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No education	3.4	2.1	13.2	19.5	20.5
Up to std. 5	1.2	2.7	44.1	32.1	40.4
Std. 6–9	29.9	51.0	37.1	38.1	35.1
Std. 10	40.1	26.4	2.0	6.7	2.0
Nondegree diploma	15.0	13.3	3.5	2.9	1.9
Bachelor's degree	9.8	4.3	0.1	0.7	0.1
Master's and doctorates	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0

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[a] The category "Unknown" was excluded from computations.

[b] See text footnotes 65 and 66 for an explanation of terms relating to grade divisions and diplomas.

TABLE 23. JEWISH POPULATION AGED 15 AND OVER, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, SEX, AGE, AND MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREA, 1980[a] (PERCENT)

	Total	Up to Std. 5	Std. 6–9	Std. 10	Nondegree Diploma	Bachelor's Degree	Master's and Doctorates
Total	100.0	3.8	29.1	38.5	14.4	13.0	1.3
Sex							
Males	100.0	3.1	25.7	36.8	16.9	17.5	2.0
Females	100.0	4.4	32.3	40.0	13.9	8.9	0.6
Age							
15–29	100.0	1.2	27.0	43.8	13.2	14.2	0.6
30–44	100.0	1.3	18.9	36.3	23.2	18.1	2.2
45–64	100.0	2.2	30.1	40.5	13.6	12.1	1.5
65+	100.0	12.1	42.7	31.2	6.8	6.6	0.8
Metropolitan area							
Johannesburg	100.0	4.2	29.2	38.1	14.2	13.0	1.3
Germiston	100.0	3.0	28.9	37.5	17.0	12.7	0.9
Cape Town	100.0	3.3	28.6	39.3	14.5	13.0	1.1
Durban	100.0	2.7	33.2	37.3	13.9	11.6	1.3
Pretoria	100.0	2.7	25.3	41.1	13.9	14.6	2.4
Port Elizabeth	100.0	2.3	30.0	38.7	13.5	14.0	1.5

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[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing.

TABLE 24. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE JEWS, BY OCCUPATION, 1936–1980

Occupation	1936	1960	1970	1980
% Economically active	45.4	40.8	42.6	43.6
Total no.	41,170	45,887	49,750	51,422
Total %[a]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional and technical	9.7	20.0	22.1	29.1
Administrative	2.0	19.7	16.3	17.5
Clerical	15.5	20.6	22.7	20.3
Sales	48.0	29.1	28.6	23.0
Services	5.3	1.8	3.9	4.4
Production	17.6	7.5	5.4	4.9
Agriculture	1.9	1.3	1.0	0.8

[a] Percentages were computed after excluding the "Not classified/unknown" category.

TABLE 25. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE JEWS, ANGLICANS, AND TOTAL WHITES, COLOREDS, ASIANS, AND BLACKS, BY OCCUPATION, 1970–1980

Occupation	Jews		Anglicans		Total Whites		Coloreds	Asians	Blacks
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1980	1980	1980
Total									
% Economically active	42.6	43.6	43.7	44.4	40.0	41.9	35.4	31.2	32.9
Total economically active	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional and technical	22.7	28.7	20.3	25.3	15.4	19.8	5.7	8.9	3.4
Administrative	17.5	17.2	8.6	11.9	5.3	7.3	0.3	2.1	0.1
Clerical	20.7	20.0	28.6	25.5	26.7	27.0	7.6	21.1	3.7
Sales	26.8	22.7	12.2	12.3	10.3	9.8	3.8	14.7	3.0
Service	4.0	4.3	5.4	5.9	6.8	7.9	16.5	6.6	19.8
Production	5.3	4.8	18.7	14.6	26.1	21.9	41.1	39.7	38.4
Agriculture	1.0	0.8	3.4	3.0	6.4	4.8	17.1	2.2	20.1
Not classified/unknown	2.0	1.5	2.7	1.5	3.0	1.6	7.9	4.7	11.5
Males									
% Economically active	59.7	58.0	59.7	58.6	56.4	56.3	44.4	46.7	43.9
Total economically active	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Professional and technical	24.0	29.8	20.8	26.4	14.4	18.9	3.8	7.8	2.2
Administrative	23.1	23.5	12.2	17.0	7.1	10.0	0.5	2.7	0.1
Clerical	8.2	7.0	14.9	10.3	15.1	13.0	6.8	20.4	4.3
Sales	30.5	25.8	12.5	12.8	9.4	9.5	3.1	15.7	2.3
Service	4.2	4.5	5.5	6.2	7.3	8.8	6.6	6.4	9.2
Production	7.0	6.8	26.8	21.6	35.5	31.4	51.2	40.1	51.2
Agriculture	1.4	1.2	4.9	4.3	8.7	6.9	22.2	2.7	22.0
Not classified/unknown	1.6	1.4	2.5	1.5	2.5	1.6	5.8	4.2	8.7
Females									
% Economically active	26.0	29.9	28.7	31.0	23.7	27.7	26.8	16.0	21.2
Total economically active	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional and technical	19.8	26.7	19.2	23.4	17.9	21.7	8.7	12.0	5.9
Administrative	4.8	5.6	1.6	2.9	1.1	1.9	0.1	0.5	0.0
Clerical	48.7	43.9	55.5	52.7	54.1	55.2	8.9	23.3	2.5
Sales	18.5	16.8	11.7	11.4	12.6	10.3	4.9	11.5	4.6
Service	3.6	3.9	5.2	5.3	5.7	6.0	32.6	7.1	43.1
Production	1.5	1.2	2.9	2.1	3.8	2.7	24.9	38.7	10.5
Agriculture	0.2	0.1	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.7	8.7	0.8	15.9
Not classified/unknown	2.9	1.8	3.1	1.5	3.9	1.5	11.2	6.1	17.5

TABLE 26. CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONS OF JEWS, 1960–1970 AND 1970–1980

	Difference 1960–70			Difference 1970–80		
Occupation	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
				Absolute Nos.		
Total	3,438	1,165	2,273	−237	−886	649
Not economically active	−163	983	−1,146	−1,275	596	−1,871
Total economically active	3,601	182	3,419	1,038	−1,482	2,520
Professional and technical	2,264	1,063	1,201	3,335	1,584	1,751
Administrative	−232	−120	−112	37	−228	265
Clerical	1,003	−445	1,448	−169	−524	355
Sales	140	−661	801	−1,860	−2,026	166
Service	1,182	962	220	186	47	139
Production	−779	−541	−238	−174	−150	−24
Agriculture	−92	−98	6	−102	−94	−8
Not classified/ unknown	115	22	93	−215	−91	−124
				Percentage Change[a]		
Total	3.0	2.0	3.9	−0.2	−1.5	1.1
Not economically active	−0.2	4.4	−2.5	−1.9	2.5	−4.2
Total economically active	7.7	0.5	28.2	2.1	−4.3	16.2
Professional and technical	24.7	14.6	64.1	29.2	19.0	57.0
Administrative	−2.6	−1.5	−13.0	0.4	−2.8	35.4
Clerical	10.6	−13.4	23.7	−1.6	−18.3	4.7
Sales	1.0	−5.9	38.6	−13.8	−19.0	5.8
Service	141.1	194.7	64.0	9.2	3.2	24.6
Production	−22.6	−18.2	−50.2	−6.5	−6.2	−10.2
Agriculture	−15.1	−16.7	27.3	−19.7	−19.2	−28.6
Not classified/ unknown	12.8	4.1	26.1	−21.3	−16.3	−27.6

[a] Percentage change for each cell $= \frac{\text{Total change between the two dates}}{\text{Total number at the earlier date}} \times 100$

TABLE 27. JEWISH AND TOTAL WHITE PROFESSIONALS, 1980, DETAILED BREAKDOWN

Professions	Jews	Total Whites
Professionals as % of total economically active	28.7	19.8
Total no.	13,750	378,570
Total %	100.0	100.0
Physical scientists and related technicians	0.9	2.4
Architects, quantity surveyors, engineers, and related technicians	10.7	29.4
Aircraft and ships' officers	0.3	1.1
Life scientists and related technicians	1.4	2.5
Medical, dental, veterinary, pharmaceutical, and related workers	30.1	17.6
Statisticians, mathematicians, systems analysts, and related technicians	2.1	2.5
Economists	0.4	0.4
Public accountants	15.3	7.5
Lawyers, judges, and other legal occupations	9.2	2.5
Teachers and other educational workers	16.8	22.8
Workers in religion	0.8	2.3
Professional, technical, and related workers not elsewhere classified	4.3	3.4
Authors, journalists, and related workers	2.2	1.8
Sculptors, painters, photographers, and related creative artists	3.2	2.4
Composers and performing artists	1.8	1.0
Sportsmen	0.5	0.4

TABLE 28. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE JEWS AGED 15 AND OVER, BY OCCUPATION, SEX, AGE, AND MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREA, 1980[a] (PERCENT)

	Total	Professional/ Technical	Administrative	Clerical	Sales	Service	Production	Agriculture
Total	100.0	29.8	17.6	21.0	22.4	4.0	4.9	0.3
Sex								
Males	100.0	31.0	24.4	7.5	25.6	4.1	7.0	0.4
Females	100.0	27.6	5.5	45.1	16.7	3.8	1.2	0.1
Age								
15–29	100.0	33.9	7.6	29.2	14.4	8.5	6.2	0.2
30–44	100.0	33.5	20.6	17.2	21.9	2.4	4.2	0.2
45–64	100.0	25.9	21.9	19.9	25.4	2.3	4.3	0.3
65+	100.0	21.2	19.1	17.5	32.6	3.4	5.7	0.5
Metropolitan area								
Johannesburg	100.0	29.2	17.1	23.4	21.7	3.5	5.0	0.1
Germiston	100.0	27.9	19.5	19.9	23.6	3.5	4.8	0.8
Cape Town	100.0	32.0	18.1	17.1	23.3	4.0	5.1	0.4
Durban	100.0	29.6	21.3	17.3	21.6	5.3	4.5	0.4
Pretoria	100.0	28.5	15.5	15.2	23.6	12.7	4.0	0.5
Port Elizabeth	100.0	30.0	17.7	14.0	30.8	3.1	3.8	0.6
Rest of country	100.0	22.3	15.8	12.9	29.4	8.1	5.2	6.3

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[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing. Percentage distributions were computed after excluding the "Not classified/unknown" category. The "Rest of country" category was obtained by subtracting the totals for the six major metropolitan areas from those for the whole of South Africa.

TABLE 29. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE JEWS AGED 15 AND OVER, BY OCCUPATION AND WORK STATUS, 1980[a]

Occupation	Work Status			
	Total	Employer	Employee	Unemployed
		Column %		
Total no.	46,127	11,769	34,272	86
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	(100.0)
Professional and technical	29.8	37.2	27.3	(29.1)
Administrative	17.6	19.8	16.9	(5.8)
Clerical	21.0	1.9	27.5	(41.9)
Sales	22.4	30.9	19.5	(12.8)
Services	4.0	3.8	4.1	(5.8)
Production	4.9	5.6	4.7	(4.7)
Agriculture	0.3	0.9	0.1	(0.0)
		Row %		
Total %	100.0	25.3	74.1	0.6
Professional and technical	100.0	31.8	68.0	0.2
Administrative	100.0	28.7	71.3	0.1
Clerical	100.0	2.3	97.4	0.4
Sales	100.0	35.2	64.7	0.1
Services	100.0	24.3	75.4	0.3
Production	100.0	29.1	70.7	0.2
Agriculture	100.0	81.1	18.9	0.0

[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing.

TABLE 30. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE JEWS AGED 15 AND OVER, BY WORK STATUS, SEX, AGE, AND MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREA, 1980[a]

	% Economically Active	Economically Active			
		Total	Employer	Employee	Unemployed
Total	55.9	100.0	25.3	74.1	0.6
Sex					
Males	74.2	100.0	33.6	65.9	0.5
Females	37.6	100.0	10.5	88.6	0.9
Age					
15–29	48.7	100.0	8.8	90.2	1.0
30–44	73.6	100.0	27.1	72.3	0.6
45–64	65.4	100.0	32.1	67.3	0.6
65+	29.7	100.0	37.2	62.5	0.3
Metropolitan area					
Johannesburg	57.0	100.0	22.5	77.0	0.5
Germiston	62.2	100.0	29.9	69.8	0.3
Cape Town	49.2	100.0	29.1	70.0	0.9
Durban	51.0	100.0	28.5	70.4	1.1
Pretoria	60.5	100.0	28.7	70.9	0.4
Port Elizabeth	55.7	100.0	41.0	58.7	0.3

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[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing.

TABLE 31. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE JEWS AGED 15 AND OVER, BY INDUSTRY AND TYPE OF EMPLOYER, 1980[a]

	Type of Employer					
Industry	Total	Central Govt.	Provincial/ Local Authority	Public Authority Corporation	Private Business Enterpr.[b]	Nonprofit Organization
			Column %			
Total no.	45,130	2,038	2,731	355	38,596	1,410
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.0
Manufacturing[c]	18.7	1.8	1.8	29.3	21.3	2.3
Construction	2.6	0.4	1.5	0.8	2.9	0.1
Trade	33.0	2.0	0.4	0.8	38.4	0.3
Transport	2.3	0.5	0.5	47.3	2.1	0.1
Finance	20.1	0.4	0.1	2.0	23.5	0.0
Services	22.9	94.8	95.5	18.3	11.2	97.2
			Row %			
Total %	100.0	4.4	5.9	0.8	85.8	3.1
Agriculture	100.0	0.8	2.9	0.0	96.3	0.0
Manufacturing[c]	100.0	0.4	0.6	1.2	97.4	0.4
Construction	100.0	0.8	3.6	0.3	95.1	0.2
Trade	100.0	0.3	0.1	0.1	99.5	0.0
Transport	100.0	1.1	1.3	16.5	80.9	0.2
Finance	100.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	99.8	0.0
Services	100.0	18.8	25.3	0.6	42.0	13.3

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[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing. Includes all economically active Jews irrespective of work status.

[b] Includes employers and employees.

[c] Includes the mining and electricity sectors, with 205 and 133 employed Jews, respectively.

TABLE 32. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE JEWS AGED 15 AND OVER, BY TYPE OF EMPLOYER, SEX, AGE, AND MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREA, 1980[a] (PERCENT)

	Total	Central Govt.	Provincial Administration	Local Authority	Public Author. Corp.	Private Business Enterpr.	Non-profit Organization
Total	100.0	4.4	5.0	0.9	0.8	85.8	3.1
Sex							
Males	100.0	4.5	2.7	0.9	1.0	89.6	1.3
Females	100.0	4.3	9.0	1.1	0.4	79.0	6.2
Age							
15–29	100.0	9.4	8.4	0.8	1.3	77.5	2.6
30–44	100.0	3.2	5.0	0.8	0.7	87.1	3.2
45–64	100.0	2.6	3.3	1.2	0.6	88.9	3.4
65+	100.0	2.2	2.3	1.0	0.3	91.1	3.1
Metropolitan area							
Johannesburg	100.0	3.4	4.6	0.8	0.7	87.2	3.3
Germiston	100.0	2.8	4.4	0.3	1.3	89.8	1.4
Cape Town	100.0	5.2	6.6	1.5	0.5	82.9	3.3
Durban	100.0	5.7	4.3	1.0	1.6	84.5	2.9
Pretoria	100.0	19.3	2.9	0.5	1.4	74.3	1.6
Port Elizabeth	100.0	2.5	4.2	0.8	1.0	89.4	2.1

[a] Six major metropolitan areas, authors' processing.

TABLE 33. JEWS AND TOTAL WHITES, BY INCOME, 1980

Income Category in S.A. Rands[a]	Jews	Total Whites
% with income out of population aged 15 +	67.9	67.8
Total no.	63,239	2,238,366
Total %	100.0	100.0
2–1,199	6.5	7.4
1,200–2,399	7.9	10.1
2,400–3,599	7.9	11.3
3,600–5,999	15.2	20.2
6,000–8,399	12.9	17.2
8,400–11,999	10.2	15.0
12,000–17,999	13.9	11.8
18,000–29,999	13.3	5.0
30,000–41,999	4.2	1.2
42,000+	8.0	0.8
Median annual income	8,323	6,139

[a] In 1980 the South African rand was equivalent to about $0.80.

TABLE 34. JEWISH POPULATION AGED 15 AND OVER, BY TYPE AND LEVEL OF JEWISH EDUCATION, 1974[a]

Type of Jewish Education	Jewish Education Level Attained				
	Total	None	To Bar Mitzvah	Post Bar Mitzvah	Matriculation
			Column %		
Total no.	66,597	13,989	35,270	11,160	6,112
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	18.7	92.0	—	—	—
Heder	52.9	2.2	74.6	60.7	25.2
Day school	10.1	0.9	5.2	14.2	50.9
Other[b]	18.3	4.9	20.2	25.1	23.9
			Row %		
Total %	100.0	21.0	53.0	16.8	9.2
Heder	100.0	0.8	75.4	19.3	4.5
Day school	100.0	1.7	27.7	23.7	46.9
Other[b]	100.0	5.3	59.2	23.2	12.2

[a] South African Jewish Population Study, six largest Jewish communities.

[b] Including private tutorial.

TABLE 35. SELECTED INDICATORS OF JEWISH EDUCATION, 1981-82[a]

Indicators	Total	Johannesburg	Cape Town	Rest of South Africa
Schools				
Total	146	56	22	68
Nursery schools	64	25	15	24
Day schools[b]	24	9	5	10
Of these: primary[c]	14	4	4	6
secondary[d]	10	5	1	4
Hadarim	58	22	2	34
Pupils				
Total	14,300	7,722	3,174	3,404
Nursery schools[e]	3,765	2,164	723	878
Day schools[b]	8,311	4,368	2,289	1,654
Of these: primary[c]	4,360	2,145	1,311	904
secondary[d]	3,951	2,223	978	750
Hadarim	2,224	1,190	162	872
% Enrolled out of 3–17 age group[f]				
Total	55	54	58	57
Nursery and day schools	47	46	55	42
Hadarim	8	8	3	15
Teaching Posts[g]				
Total	991	510	228	253
Nursery schools[h]	235	107	44	84
Day schools[i]	655	368	170	117
Of these: Jewish studies[j]	160	108	23	29
General studies	495	260	147	88
Hadarim[k]	101	35	14	52

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[a] Based on results of the First International Census of Jewish Schools in the Diaspora, conducted by the Project for Jewish Educational Statistics, Institute for Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The census covered the 1981–82 and 1982–83 school years in the Northern Hemisphere and 1981, 1982, and 1983 school years in the Southern Hemisphere. Coverage of schools in South Africa was close to 100 percent for nursery and day schools. Response for *hadarim* (supplementary schools) was somewhat lower, but certainly not below 90 percent.

[b] Each nursery, primary-, and secondary-level unit was counted as a separate school.

Continued on the next page

TABLE 35.—*(Continued)*

[c] Grades 1 to 6.

[d] Grades 7 to 12.

[e] Excludes 946 non-Jewish pupils, countrywide. The proportion of non-Jewish pupils in day schools was 0.9 percent, and has been disregarded.

[f] Percentage enrollment = (total enrolled in Jewish schools/total Jewish children aged 3–17) × 100. Figures for "Rest of South Africa" were estimated.

[g] Teachers who taught at more than one school were subject to multiple reporting, hence "Teaching Posts," rather than "Teachers." Since several schools did not report on teachers—in particular, Johannesburg *hadarim*—the percentage of schools which did report is noted in each case.

[h] Nursery schools reporting: total—89 percent; Johannesburg—72 percent; Cape Town and rest—100 percent.

[i] Day schools reporting: total—92 percent; Johannesburg and Cape Town—100 percent; rest—80 percent.

[j] Includes 6 teachers who also taught general studies.

[k] *Hadarim* reporting: total—67 percent; Johannesburg—23 percent; Cape Town—100 percent; rest—94 percent.

Jewish Population in the United States, 1987

THE JEWISH POPULATION OF the United States in 1987 was estimated to be 5,944,000. While this figure is somewhat higher than that reported for 1986, it may not signify an actual increase in the Jewish population. Rather, a combination of factors led to the new figures. First, several growing communities recently completed demographic studies and thus reported significant population gains. Second, we have expanded our list of communities to include a number of places that had never before reported a Jewish population. Finally, we have adjusted population estimates to meet some of the problems described in the preceding essay.

While the Jewish federations are the chief reporting bodies, their service areas vary in size and may represent several towns, one county, or an aggregate of several counties. In some cases we have subdivided federation areas to reflect the more natural geographic boundaries. Some estimates, from areas without federations, have been provided by local rabbis and other informed Jewish community leaders. In still other cases, the figures that have been updated are from past estimates provided by UJA field representatives.

The state and regional totals shown in Appendix tables 1 and 2 are derived by summing the individual estimates shown in table 3 and then making three adjustments. First, communities of less than 100 are added. Second, duplicated counts within states are eliminated. Third, communities whose populations reside in two or more states (e.g., Kansas City and Washington, D.C.) are distributed accordingly.

The reader should be aware that population estimating is not an exact science and that collection procedures can result in annual fluctuations in community or state totals. It is also important to note that the results of a completed local demographic study often change the previously reported Jewish population figure, even where there has been no actual demographic change. Thus, even though the 1987 totals for Pennsylvania and Wisconsin show Jewish population increases over 1986, these new higher figures are solely the result of adjustments of previous data.

In determining Jewish population, communities count both affiliated and nonaffiliated residents. In most cases, counts are made by households, with that number multiplied by the average number of self-defined Jewish persons per household. Most communities also include those born and raised as Jews but who at present consider themselves of no religion. Non-Jews living in Jewish households, primarily the non-Jewish spouses and any non-Jewish children, are not included in the 1987 estimates presented in the appendix below.

Where non-Jews have been included in the local population count and the number of Jews (minus non-Jews in the household) has not been reported, we have reduced the Jewish population count by 7 percent, which is the average proportion of non-Jews we have found in such surveys. In surveys which have not included Jews who publicly deny being Jews (see "Uncounted Jews" section of previous article), we have adjusted upward for this source of error. Regarding institutionalized Jews: where the local community has not included this population in its count we have augmented the estimate by approximately 1.5 percent. This includes nursing homes and the population living in student dormitories, some of which were not included heretofore. Some areas, such as in the Sunbelt region, often include part-time residents in their totals. In the interest of accuracy and consistency, adjustments have been made for such overcounts.

In analyzing those communities that show increases, several distinct patterns emerge. The continued growth of the Sunbelt and West Coast communities, particularly those in coastal Florida and northern California, seems unabated. College towns, state capitals, and resort areas show similar growth patterns. The exurbs, those small towns and rural areas just beyond the traditional boundaries of a metropolitan area, are also experiencing significant growth.

The community reporting the largest numerical Jewish population gain since the last estimate was completed was the San Francisco–Oakland–San Jose Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area, whose increase exceeded 50,000 persons. Additionally, six communities that had no prior enumeration of a Jewish population each report a Jewish population of at least 500 for 1987: Fairfield and Chico, California; Naples, Pasco County, and Stuart–Port St. Lucie, Florida; and Medford, Oregon.

Since the 1986 estimates were provided, 15 communities have reported more than doubling the size of their Jewish populations. These include: Anchorage, Alaska; Napa, Redding, and San Luis Obispo, California; Aspen, Colorado; Vero Beach, Florida; Augusta, Maine; Harford County, Maryland; Greenfield and Cape Cod, Massachusetts; Hoboken, New Jersey; Las Cruces, Los Alamos, and Santa Fe, New Mexico; and Myrtle Beach, South Carolina.

Other communities showing significant Jewish population increases over the 1986 estimates include Phoenix, Arizona; Antelope Valley, Bakersfield, Eureka, Modesto, Salinas, and San Bernardino, California; Colorado Springs, Colorado; New Haven and New Milford, Connecticut; Washington, D.C.; Ft. Pierce, Orlando, Palm Beach County, and Tampa, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; Iowa City, Iowa; Aurora and Rockford, Illinois; Baltimore and Frederick, Maryland; Worcester, Massachusetts; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Rochester, Minnesota; Laconia, New Hampshire; Ithaca, Poughkeepsie, and Rochester, New York; Eugene, Oregon; Greenville, South Carolina; Austin and Beaumont, Texas; Burlington, Vermont; Norfolk and Roanoke, Virginia; and Tacoma, Washington. It should be noted that some of these increases may have occurred over a period of time and are just now being substantiated. In contrast, declines are reported more regularly and tend to be less dramatic.

The footnotes detailing the areas included in particular communities have been expanded and grouped by state. Also: one asterisk indicates that the population includes the entire county; two asterisks indicate a two-county area; three asterisks indicate that the Jewish population figure has not been updated for several years.

BARRY A. KOSMIN
PAUL RITTERBAND
JEFFREY SCHECKNER

TABLE 1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1987

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish Percent of Total
Alabama	10,000	4,021,000	0.2
Alaska	2,600	521,000	0.5
Arizona	69,200	3,187,000	2.2
Arkansas	2,000	2,359,000	0.1
California	868,200	26,365,000	3.3
Colorado	49,000	3,231,000	1.5
Connecticut	113,300	3,174,000	3.6
Delaware	9,500	622,000	1.5
District of Columbia	25,400	626,000	4.0
Florida	549,200	11,366,000	4.8
Georgia	62,500	5,976,000	1.0
Hawaii	8,000	1,054,000	0.8
Idaho	400	1,005,000	0.1
Illinois	259,800	11,535,000	2.2
Indiana	19,900	5,499,000	0.4
Iowa	6,700	2,884,000	0.2
Kansas	15,200	2,450,000	0.6
Kentucky	12,200	3,726,000	0.3
Louisiana	16,800	4,481,000	0.4
Maine	8,800	1,164,000	0.8
Maryland	209,700	4,392,000	4.8
Massachusetts	286,600	5,822,000	4.9
Michigan	84,600	9,088,000	0.9
Minnesota	31,400	4,193,000	0.8
Mississippi	2,400	2,613,000	0.1
Missouri	63,600	5,029,000	1.3
Montana	450	826,000	0.1
Nebraska	7,300	1,606,000	0.5
Nevada	19,500	936,000	2.1
New Hampshire	7,000	998,000	0.7
New Jersey	427,700	7,562,000	5.7
New Mexico	6,400	1,450,000	0.4
New York	1,891,400	17,783,000	10.6

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish Percent of Total
North Carolina	15,300	6,255,000	0.2
North Dakota	850	685,000	0.1
Ohio	136,000	10,744,000	1.3
Oklahoma.	5,500	3,301,000	0.2
Oregon	12,500	2,687,000	0.5
Pennsylvania	347,000	11,853,000	2.9
Rhode Island	17,500	968,000	1.8
South Carolina.	8,300	3,347,000	0.2
South Dakota.	450	708,000	0.1
Tennessee	19,700	4,762,000	0.4
Texas	97,800	16,370,000	0.6
Utah	2,700	1,645,000	0.2
Vermont	4,600	535,000	0.9
Virginia.	65,300	5,706,000	1.1
Washington	22,700	4,409,000	0.5
West Virginia.	3,300	1,936,000	0.2
Wisconsin.	37,000	4,775,000	0.8
Wyoming	450	509,000	0.1
U.S. TOTAL	**5,943,700	238,740,000	2.5

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

*Resident population, July 1, 1985. (*Source:* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports,* series P-25, No. 957.)

**Exclusive of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, which recently reported Jewish populations of 1,500 and 350, respectively.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1987

Region	Total Population	Percent Distribution	Jewish Population	Percent Distribution
Northeast	49,859,000	20.9	3,103,900	52.2
New England	12,660,000	5.3	437,800	7.4
Middle Atlantic	37,199,000	15.6	2,666,100	44.9
North Central	59,197,000	24.8	662,800	11.2
East North Central	41,642,000	17.4	537,300	9.0
West North Central	17,555,000	7.4	125,500	2.1
South	81,859,000	34.3	1,114,900	18.8
South Atlantic	40,227,000	16.8	948,500	16.0
East South Central	15,122,000	6.3	44,300	0.7
West South Central	26,510,000	11.1	122,100	2.1
West	47,826,000	20.0	1,062,100	17.9
Mountain	12,789,000	5.4	148,100	2.5
Pacific	35,037,000	14.7	914,000	15.4
TOTALS	238,740,000	100.0	5,943,700	100.0

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1987 (ESTIMATED)

State and City	Jewish Population
ALABAMA	
***Anniston	100
*Auburn	100
*Birmingham	5,100
Decatur (incl. in Florence total)	
*Dothan	150
Florence	150
Gadsden	180
Huntsville	750
**Mobile	1,000
**Montgomery	1,650
Selma	210
Sheffield (incl. in Florence total)	
Tuscaloosa	315
Tuscumbia (incl. in Florence total)	
ALASKA	
**Anchorage	2,000
***Fairbanks	210
Juneau	100
Ketchikan (incl. in Juneau total)	
ARIZONA	
*Flagstaff	250
*Phoenix	50,000
*Tucson	18,500
Yuma	100
ARKANSAS	
Fayetteville	120
***Ft. Smith	160
Hot Springs (incl. in Little Rock total)	
**Little Rock	1,250
Pine Bluff	100
***Wynne-Forest City	110
CALIFORNIA	
Alameda County (listed under San Francisco Bay area)	
Antelope Valley	700
Bakersfield (incl. in Kern County)	
Berkeley (incl. in Contra Costa County total)	
*Chico	500
Contra Costa County (listed under S.F. Bay area)	
***El Centro	125
***Elsinore	250
*Eureka	500
Fairfield	800
Fontana (incl. in San Bernardino total)	
*Fresno	2,000
Kern County	1,400
Lancaster (incl. in Antelope Valley)	
Long Beach (also incl. in Los Angeles total)[N]	13,500
Los Angeles Metro area	501,000
Merced	170
*Modesto	450
Monterey Peninsula	1,500
Napa	450
Oakland (incl. in Alameda County)	
Ontario (incl. in Pomona Valley)	
Orange County	80,000
Palmdale (incl. in Antelope Valley)	
Palm Springs[N]	9,500
Palo Alto (incl. in South Peninsula)	
Pasadena (also incl. in L.A. Metro Area)	2,000
Petaluma (incl. in Sonoma County)	
Pomona Valley[N]	3,500
Redding	145
Riverside	1,325
Sacramento[N]	10,000
Salinas	500
San Bernardino area	2,800
*San Diego	37,000
San Francisco Bay area[N]	196,000
San Francisco	45,500
North Peninsula	22,000
South Peninsula	19,500
San Jose	32,000
Alameda County	30,500
Contra Costa County	21,000

[N] See Notes below. *Includes entire county. **Includes all of 2 counties. ***Figure not updated.

State and City	Jewish Population
Marin County	17,000
Sonoma County	8,500
*San Jose (listed under San Francisco Bay area)	
*San Luis Obispo	1,000
*Santa Barbara	3,800
*Santa Cruz	1,200
Santa Maria	200
Santa Monica (also incl. in Los Angeles total)	8,000
Santa Rosa (incl. in Sonoma County)	
*Stockton	1,600
***Sun City	800
Tulare & Kings County	500
Vallejo	400
*Ventura County	7,000
COLORADO	
Aspen	250
Boulder (incl. in Denver total)	
Colorado Springs	1,500
Denver^{N}	45,000
*Ft. Collins	1,000
Grand Junction	100
***Greeley	100
Loveland (incl. in Ft. Collins total)	
Pueblo	375
Vail	100
CONNECTICUT	
Bridgeport^{N}	18,000
Bristol	200
Colchester	575
Danbury^{N}	3,500
Danielson	130
Greenwich	3,900
Hartford^{N}	28,000
Hebron (incl. in Colchester total)	
Lebanon (incl. in Colchester total)	
Lower Middlesex County^{N}	1,475
Manchester (incl. in Hartford)	
Meriden	1,400
Middletown	1,300
New Britain (incl. in Hartford)	
New Haven^{N}	28,000
New London^{N}	4,000
New Milford	400
Newtown (incl. in Danbury)	
Norwalk^{N}	4,000
Norwich	1,800
Putnam	110
Rockville (incl. in Hartford)	
Shelton (incl. in Valley area)	
Stamford/New Canaan	12,000
Storrs (incl. in Willimantic total)	
Torrington	560
Valley area^{N}	550
Wallingford	500
Waterbury	2,700
Westport (also incl. in Norwalk)	2,800
Willimantic area	700
***Winsted	110
DELAWARE	
Dover^{N}	650
Wilmington (incl. rest of state)	9,500
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
Greater Washington	165,000
FLORIDA	
Boca Raton-Delray Beach (listed under Southeast Fla.)	
Brevard County	2,250
*Crystal River	100
Dade County (listed under Southeast Fla.)	
**Daytona Beach	2,000
Fort Lauderdale (listed under Southeast Fla.)	
Fort Pierce (listed under Southeast Fla.)	
Gainesville	1,200
Hollywood (listed under Southeast Fla.)	
**Jacksonville	7,000
Key West	170
*Lakeland	800
Lee County (incl. Ft. Myers)	3,500
*Miami (incl. in Dade County)	
Naples	750
*Ocala	100
Orlando^{N}	15,000
Palm Beach County (listed under Southeast Fla.)	
**Pasco County	1,000
**Pensacola	775
***Port Charlotte	150
**Sarasota	9,000
***St. Augustine	100
*St. Petersburg (incl. Clearwater)	9,500
Southeast Florida	481,500
Dade County	241,000
Hollywood^{N}	60,000

State and City	Jewish Population
Ft. Lauderdale[N]	85,000
Boca Raton-Delray Beach	52,000
Palm Beach County (excl. Boca Raton-Delray Beach)	55,000
Stuart-Port. St.Lucie	3,000
Fort Pierce	500
Tallahassee	1,000
*Tampa	12,500
*Vero Beach	300
Winter Haven (incl. in Lakeland total)	
GEORGIA	
Albany	400
Athens	250
Atlanta Metro area	55,000
Augusta[N]	1,400
Brunswick	100
**Columbus	1,000
**Dalton	225
Fitzgerald-Cordele	125
Macon	900
*Savannah	2,600
*Valdosta	110
HAWAII	
Hilo	320
Honolulu (includes all of Oahu)	7,300
Kauai	110
Maui	250
IDAHO	
**Boise	220
Lewiston	100
Moscow (incl. in Lewiston total)	
ILLINOIS	
Aurora area	500
Bloomington-Normal	170
Carbondale	100
*Champaign-Urbana	2,000
Chicago Metro area	248,000
**Danville	130
*Decatur	225
East St. Louis (incl. in So. Ill.)	
Elgin[N]	600
Galesburg	120
*Joliet	850
Kankakee	200
*Peoria	1,000
Quad Cities[N]	1,650
**Quincy	125
Rock Island (incl. in Quad Cities)	
Rockford[N]	1,300
Southern Illinois[N]	900
*Springfield	1,100
***Sterling-Dixon	110
Waukegan	1,200
INDIANA	
Anderson	105
Bloomington	300
Elkart (incl. in South Bend total)	
***Evansville	1,200
Ft. Wayne	1,170
Gary (incl. in Northwest Ind. Calumet Region)	
**Indianapolis	10,000
Kokomo	100
Lafayette[N]	600
***Marion	170
*Michigan City	435
***Muncie	175
Northwest Indiana-Calumet Region[N]	3,000
Richmond	110
***Shelbyville	240
South Bend[N]	1,900
*Terre Haute	325
IOWA	
Ames (also incl. in Des Moines total)	200
Cedar Rapids	430
Council Bluffs (also incl. in Omaha total)	150
Davenport (incl. in Quad Cities, Ill.)	
*Des Moines	3,000
*Iowa City	1,200
***Muscatine	120
**Sioux City	655
Waterloo	235
KANSAS	
Kansas City (incl. in Kansas City, Mo.)	
Lawrence	175
Manhattan	100
*Topeka	500
Wichita[N]	1,000
KENTUCKY	
Covington/Newport (incl. in Cincinnati, Ohio total)	
Lexington[N]	2,000
*Louisville	9,200
***Paducah	175
LOUISIANA	
Alexandria	350
Baton Rouge[N]	1,400
Lafayette	100
Lake Charles	300
Monroe	525

State and City	Jewish Population
**New Orleans	12,000
*Shreveport	1,100
South Central La.^{N}	720
Tallulah (incl. in Vicksburg, Miss. total)	
MAINE	
Augusta	500
Bangor	1,250
Biddeford-Saco (incl. in So. Maine)	
Brunswick-Bath (incl. in So. Maine)	
***Calais	135
Lewiston-Auburn	500
Portland	3,900
Rockland	100
Southern Maine (incl. Portland)^{N}	5,500
Waterville	300
MARYLAND	
*Annapolis	2,000
**Baltimore	93,000
Cumberland	265
Easton Park area^{N}	100
*Frederick	600
*Hagerstown	300
*Harford County	1,000
Howard County	7,200
Montgomery and Prince Georges counties	104,500
Salisbury	400
Silver Spring (incl. in Montgomery County)	
MASSACHUSETTS	
Amherst	750
Andover^{N}	3,000
Athol area	250
Attleboro	200
Beverly (incl. in Lynn total)	
Boston Metro Region^{N}	228,000
Brookline (also incl. in Boston total)	26,000
Cape Cod (incl. all of Barnstable County)	2,900
Fall River	1,780
Falmouth (incl. in Cape Cod)	
Fitchburg	300
Framingham^{N}	10,800
Gardner (incl. in Athol total)	
Gloucester (also incl. in Lynn total)	450
Great Barrington	105
*Greenfield	900
Haverhill	1,500
Holyoke	1,100
*Hyannis (incl. in Cape Cod)	
Lawrence (incl. in Andover total)	
Leominster	750
Lowell	2,000
Lynn-North Shore area^{N}	26,200
*Martha's Vineyard	260
New Bedford^{N}	2,700
Newburyport	280
Newton (also incl. in Boston total)	34,000
North Adams (incl. in N.Berkshire total)	
North Berkshire County	750
Northampton	700
Peabody (incl. in Lynn total)	
Pittsfield (incl. all berkshire County)	3,100
Plymouth	500
Provincetown (incl. in Cape Cod)	
Salem (incl. in Lynn total)	
Southbridge	105
Springfield^{N}	11,000
Taunton area	1,200
Webster	125
Worcester^{N}	12,000
MICHIGAN	
*Ann Arbor	4,500
Battle Creek	245
Bay City	280
Benton Harbor	500
**Detroit	70,000
*Flint	2,000
*Grand Rapids	1,500
Jackson	375
*Kalamazoo	1,030
*Lansing	2,100
*Marquette County	150
Midland	200
***Mt. Clemens	420
Mt. Pleasant^{N}	120
Muskegon	235
*Saginaw	200
***South Haven	100
MINNESOTA	
***Austin	125
**Duluth	800
***Hibbing	155
*Minneapolis	22,000
Rochester	400
**St. Paul	7,700
Winona (incl. in LaCrosse, Wis. total)	
MISSISSIPPI	
Biloxi-Gulfport	150
Clarksdale	100
**Cleveland	120
**Greenville	480

State and City	Jewish Population
**Hattiesburg	180
**Jackson	700
***Natchez	140
**Vicksburg	105
MISSOURI	
Columbia	350
Hannibal (incl. in Quincy, Ill. total)	
Joplin	100
Kansas City Metro area	22,100
***Kennett	110
Springfield	285
*St. Joseph	300
**St. Louis	53,500
MONTANA	
*Billings	200
Butte	110
Helena (incl. in Butte total)	
NEBRASKA	
Grand Island-Hastings (incl. in Lincoln total)	
Lincoln	800
Omaha[N]	6,500
NEVADA	
Carson City (incl. in Reno total)	
*Las Vegas	18,000
**Reno	1,400
NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Bethlehem	100
Claremont	200
Concord	450
Dover	450
Hanover-Lebanon	360
***Keene	105
***Laconia	270
Littleton (incl. in Bethlehem total)	
Manchester	3,000
Nashua	480
Portsmouth area	1,100
Salem (also incl. in Andover, Mass. total)	150
NEW JERSEY	
Asbury Park (incl. in Monmouth County)	
*Atlantic City (incl. Atlantic County)	15,800
Bayonne (incl. in Hudson County)	
Bergen County	100,000
***Bridgeton	375
Bridgewater (incl. in Somerset County)	
Camden (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
Cherry Hill[N]	28,000
Edison (incl. in Middlesex County)	
Elizabeth (incl. in Union County)	
Englewood (incl. in Bergen County)	
Essex County[N]	78,300
North Essex	16,000
East Essex	11,200
South Essex	20,800
Livingston	12,900
West Orange-Orange	17,400
Flemington	900
Freehold (incl. in Monmouth County)	
Gloucester (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
Hoboken (incl. in Hudson County)	
Hudson County	14,250
Bayonne	5,000
Jersey City	3,500
Hoboken	750
North Hudson	5,000
Jersey City (incl. in Hudson County)	
Lakewood (incl. in Ocean County)	
Livingston (incl. in Essex County)	
Middlesex County[N]	40,000
Millville	135
Monmouth County	33,600
Morris County	34,600
Morristown (incl. in Morris County)	
Mt. Holly (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
Newark (incl. in Essex County)	
New Brunswick (incl. in Middlesex County)	
Northeastern N.J.[N]	320,650
Ocean County	9,500
Passaic-Clifton (also in Passaic County total)	8,000
Passaic County[N]	18,700
Paterson (incl. in Passaic County)	
Perth Amboy (incl. in Middlesex County)	
Phillipsburg (incl. in Easton, Pa. total)	
Plainfield (incl. in Union County)	
Princeton	2,600
Salem	100
Somerset County[N]	4,800

State and City	Jewish Population
Somerville (incl. in Somerset County)	
Sussex-Warren counties	4,600
Toms River (incl. in Ocean County)	
Trenton^{N}	8,500
Union County^{N}	30,000
Vineland^{N}	2,450
Wayne (incl. in Passaic County)	
West Orange (incl. in Essex County)	
Wildwood	425
Willingboro (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
NEW MEXICO	
*Albuquerque	4,500
Las Cruces	525
Los Alamos	250
Santa Fe	900
NEW YORK	
*Albany	12,000
Amenia	140
Amsterdam	450
***Auburn	315
***Batavia	165
Beacon (incl. in Dutchess County)	
*Binghamton (incl. all Broome County)	3,000
Brewster (also incl. in Danbury, Conn.)	300
*Buffalo	18,500
Canandaigua (incl. in Geneva total)	
Catskill	200
***Corning	125
Cortland	440
Dunkirk	120
Ellenville	1,600
Elmira^{N}	1,100
Fleischmanns	115
Geneva	300
Glens Falls^{N}	800
***Gloversville	535
***Herkimer	185
Highland Falls (incl. in Orange County)	
Hudson	470
*Ithaca	1,250
Jamestown	185
Kingston^{N}	4,500
Lake George (incl. in Glens Falls total)	
Liberty (also incl. in Sullivan County total)	2,100
***Massena	140
Middletown (incl. in Orange County)	
Monroe (incl. in Orange County)	
Monticello (also incl. in Sullivan County total)	2,400
New York Metro area^{N}	1,718,000
Bronx	85,000
Brooklyn	429,000
Manhattan	282,000
Queens	329,000
Staten Island	34,000
Nassau County	320,000
Suffolk County	112,000
Westchester County	127,000
New Paltz	150
Newark (incl. in Geneva total)	
Newburgh (incl. in Orange County)	
Niagara Falls	425
***Norwich	120
Olean	120
**Oneonta	250
Orange County	8,950
Oswego	100
Pawling	105
Plattsburg	275
Port Jervis (also incl. in Orange County total)	560
Potsdam	250
*Poughkeepsie	6,500
**Rochester	23,000
Rockland County	60,000
Rome	205
Saratoga Springs	500
**Schenectady	5,400
***Sharon Springs	165
South Fallsburg (incl. also in Sullivan County total)	1,100
Sullivan County	7,425
Syracuse^{N}	9,000
Troy area	900
Utica^{N}	2,000
Walden (incl. in Orange County)	
Watertown	170
NORTH CAROLINA	
Asheville^{N}	2,100
**Chapel Hill-Durham	2,400
Charlotte^{N}	4,000
*Fayetteville	500
Gastonia	240
Goldsboro	120
*Greensboro	2,700
Greenville	300
Hendersonville	135
**Hickory	100
High Point (incl. in Greensboro total)	
Raleigh	1,375
Whiteville Zone^{N}	160

State and City	Jewish Population
Wilmington	500
Winston-Salem	440
NORTH DAKOTA	
Fargo	500
Grand Forks	130
OHIO	
**Akron	6,000
Athens	100
Bowling Green (also incl. in Toledo total)	120
**Canton	2,500
Cincinnati[N]	22,000
**Cleveland	70,000
*Columbus	15,000
**Dayton	6,000
East Liverpool	200
Elyria	250
Fremont (incl. in Sandusky total)	
Hamilton	560
*Lima	365
Lorain	600
***Mansfield	600
***Marion	150
Middletown	150
New Philadelphia (incl. in Canton total)	
**Newark	105
Norwalk (incl. in Sandusky total)	
Oberlin (incl. in Elyria total)	
**Sandusky	130
Springfield	250
*Steubenville	165
Toledo[N]	6,300
Warren (also incl. in Youngstown total)	400
Wooster	125
Youngstown[N]	4,500
***Zanesville	350
OKLAHOMA	
Norman (also incl. in Oklahoma City total)	350
**Oklahoma City	2,300
*Tulsa	2,750
OREGON	
***Corvallis	240
Eugene	2,300
**Medford	500
Portland	9,000
***Salem	250
PENNSYLVANIA	
Allentown	5,000
*Altoona	520
Ambridge[N]	350
Beaver Falls (incl. in Upper Beaver County)	
Bethlehem	810
*Bradford	120
***Brownsville	100
*Butler	300
**Chambersburg	470
Chester (incl. in Phila. total)	
Chester County (also incl. in Phila. total)	4,000
Coatesville (incl. in Chester County total)	
***Connellsville	110
Delaware Valley (Lower Bucks County)[N]	14,500
***Donora (incl. in Pittsburgh total)	
Easton area	1,200
*Erie	800
Farrell (incl. in Sharon total)	
Ford City (incl. in Kittaning total)	
Greensburg (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	425
**Harrisburg	6,500
Hazleton area	425
Homestead (incl. in Pittsburgh total)	
Indiana	135
Jeanette (incl. in Greensburg total)	
Johnstown	410
***Kittanning	175
*Lancaster	2,100
*Lebanon	400
Lewisburg	125
Lock Haven (incl. in Williamsport total)	
McKeesport (incl. in Pittsburgh total)	
Monessen (incl. in Pittsburgh total)	
***Mt. Pleasant	120
New Castle	350
New Kensington	380
Norristown (incl. in Philadelphia total)	
**Oil City	145
Oxford-Kennett Square (incl. in Chester County)	
Philadelphia area[N]	250,000
Phoenixville (incl. in Chester County)	
Pike County	150
Pittsburgh[N]	45,000
Pottstown	700
***Pottsville	500
*Reading	2,800
***Sayre	100
*Scranton	3,200
Sharon (also incl. in Youngstown, Ohio total)	260
State College	550
Stroudsburg	410
Sunbury	120

State and City	Jewish Population
Tamaqua (incl. in Hazleton total)	
Uniontown	290
Upper Beaver County	200
**Washington (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	250
Wayne County	210
Waynesburg (incl. in Washington total)	
West Chester (also incl. in Chester County)	300
Wilkes-Barre[N]	4,000
**Williamsport	415
York	1,600
RHODE ISLAND	
Providence (incl. rest of state)	17,500
SOUTH CAROLINA	
*Charleston	3,500
**Columbia	2,000
Florence	210
Georgetown (incl. in Myrtle Beach total)	
Greenville	800
Kingstree (incl. in Sumter total)	
**Myrtle Beach	425
***Orangeburg County	105
Rock Hill (incl. in Charlotte, N.C. total)	
*Spartanburg	320
Sumter[N]	175
SOUTH DAKOTA	
Sioux Falls	115
TENNESSEE	
Bristol (incl. in Johnson City total)	
Chattanooga	2,000
Jackson	100
Johnson City	210
Kingsport (incl. in Johnson city total)	
Knoxville	1,350
Memphis	10,000
Nashville	5,450
Oak Ridge	240
TEXAS	
Amarillo[N]	190
*Austin	5,000
Baytown	300
Beaumont	800
*Brownsville	325
College Station	400
*Corpus Christi	1,400
**Dallas	24,500
De Witt County[N]	150
El Paso	4,800
*Ft. Worth	4,100
Galveston	800
Harlingen (incl. in Brownsville total)	
**Houston	42,000
Kilgore (incl. in Longview total)	
Laredo	420
Longview	200
***Lubbock	350
Lufkin (incl. in Longview total)	
Marshall (incl. in Longview total)	
*McAllen	475
Midland-Odessa	150
Paris (incl. in Sherman-Denison total)	
Port Arthur	260
San Angelo	100
*San Antonio	9,000
Sherman-Denison	125
Tyler	450
Waco[N]	500
Wharton	170
Wichita Falls	260
UTAH	
Ogden	100
*Salt Lake City	2,350
VERMONT	
Bennington	100
Brattleboro	150
**Burlington	3,000
Montpelier-Barre	500
Newport (incl. in St. Johnsbury total)	
Rutland	450
**St. Johnsbury	100
VIRGINIA	
Alexandria (incl. Falls Church, Arlington, & Fairfax counties)	35,100
Arlington (incl. in Alexandria total)	
Blacksburg	300
Charlottesville	950
Chesapeake (incl. in Norfolk total)	
Danville	180
Fredericksburg	140
Hampton (incl. in Newport News)	
Harrisonburg (incl. in Staunton total)	
***Hopewell	140
Lynchburg	275
**Martinsville	130
Newport News (incl. Hampton)[N]	2,500
Norfolk (incl. Virginia Beach)	15,000
Petersburg	740
Portsmouth-Suffolk (also incl. in Norfolk total)	1,100

State and City	Jewish Population
Radford (incl. in Blacksburg total)	
Richmond^{N}	8,000
Roanoke	1,050
Staunton^{N}	375
Williamsburg (incl. in Newport News total)	
Winchester^{N}	145
WASHINGTON	
***Bellingham	120
Longview-Kelso (incl. in Portland, Ore. total)	
***Olympia	145
Pullman (incl. in Moscow, Idaho total)	
*Seattle^{N}	19,500
Spokane	1,000
*Tacoma	1,100
Tri Cities^{N}	240
Vancouver (incl. in Portland total)	
WEST VIRGINIA	
Bluefield-Princeton	250
*Charleston	1,025
***Clarksburg	205
Huntington^{N}	380
Morgantown	200
***Parkersburg	155
***Weirton	150
**Wheeling	500
WISCONSIN	
Appleton	250
Beloit	120
Green Bay	260
*Kenosha	200
LaCrosse	150
*Madison	4,500
Milwaukee^{N}	30,000
Oshkosh	150
*Racine	375
Sheboygan	190
Superior (also incl. in Duluth total)	100
Waukesha (incl. in Milwaukee total)	
Wausau^{N}	240
WYOMING	
Casper	100
Cheyenne	230
Laramie (incl. in Cheyenne total)	

Notes

CALIFORNIA

Long Beach–includes in L.A. County, Long Beach, Signal Hill, Cerritos, Lakewood, Rosmoor, and Hawaiian Gardens. Also includes in Orange County, Los Alamitas, Cypress, Seal Beach, and Huntington Harbor.

Palm Springs–includes Palm Springs, Desert Hot Springs, Cathedral City, Palm Desert, and Rancho Mirage.

Pomona Valley–includes Alta Loma, Chino, Claremont, Cucamonga, La Verne, Montclair, Ontario, Pomona, San Dimas, Upland.

Sacramento–includes Yolo, Placer, El Dorado, and Sacramento counties.

San Francisco Bay area–North Peninsula includes northern San Mateo County. South Peninsula includes southern San Mateo County and towns of Palo Alto and Los Altos in Santa Clara County. San Jose includes remainder of Santa Clara County.

COLORADO

Denver–includes Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver, and Jefferson counties.

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport–includes Monroe, Easton, Trumbull, Fairfield, Bridgeport, Stratford, and part of Milford.

Danbury–includes Danbury, Bethel, New Fairfield, Brookfield, Sherman, Newtown, Redding, Ridgefield, and part of Wilton; also includes Brewster and Goldens Bridge in New York.

Hartford–includes most of Hartford County and Vernon, Rockville, Ellington, and Tolland in Tolland County.

Lower Middlesex County–includes Branford, Guilford, Madison, Clinton, Westbrook, Old Saybrook. Portion of this area also included in New London total.

New Haven–includes New Haven, East Haven, Guilford, Branford, Madison, North Haven, Hamden, West Haven, Milford, Orange, Woodbridge, Bethany, and Cheshire.

New London–includes central and southern New London County. Also includes part of Lower Middlesex County and part of Windham County.

Norwalk–includes Norwalk, Weston, Westport, East Norwalk, part of Darien, part of New Canaan, and part of Wilton.

Valley Area–includes Ansonia, Derby-Shelton, Oxford, Seymour, and Beacon Falls.

Waterbury–includes Middlebury, Southbury, Naugatuck, Watertown, Waterbury, Oakville, and Woodbury.

DELAWARE

Dover–includes most of central and southern Delaware.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Greater Washington–includes Montgomery and Prince Georges counties in Maryland; Arlington County, Fairfax County, Falls Church, and Alexandria in Virginia.

FLORIDA

Ft. Lauderdale–includes Ft. Lauderdale, Pompano Beach, Deerfield Beach, Tamarac, Margate, and other towns in northern Broward County.

Hollywood–includes Hollywood, Hallandale, Dania, Davie, Pembroke, and other towns in southern Broward County.

Orlando–includes all of Orange and Seminole counties, and part of Lake County.

GEORGIA

Augusta–includes Burke, Columbia, and Richmond Counties and part of Aiken County, South Carolina.

ILLINOIS

Elgin–includes Northern Kane County, Southern McHenry County, and western edge of Cook County.

Quad Cities–includes Rock Island, Moline (Ill.), Davenport, Bettendorf (Iowa).

Rockford–includes Winnebago, Boone, and Stephenson counties.

Southern Illinois–includes lower portion of Illinois below Carlinville, adjacent western portion of Kentucky, and adjacent portion of southeastern Missouri.

INDIANA

Lafayette–includes Clinton, Montgomery, and Tippecanoe counties.

Northwest Indiana–includes Crown Point, East Chicago, Gary, Hammond, Munster, Valparaiso, Whiting, and the Greater Calumet region.

South Bend–includes St. Joseph and Elkhart counties and part of Berrien County, Mich.

KANSAS

Wichita–includes Sedgwick County and towns of Salina, Dodge City, Great Bend, Liberal, Russel, and Hays.

KENTUCKY

Lexington–includes Fayette, Bourbon, Scott, Clark, Woodford, Madison, Pulaski, and Jessamin counties.

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge–includes E. Baton Rouge, Ascencion, Livingston, St. Landry, Iberville, Pt. Coupee, and W. Baton Rouge parishes.

South Central–includes Abbeville, Lafayette, New Iberia, Crowley, and Opelousus.

MAINE

Southern Maine–includes York, Cumberland, and Sagadahoc counties.

MARYLAND

Easton Park Area–includes towns in Caroline, Kent, Queen Annes, and Talbot counties.

MASSACHUSETTS

Andover–includes Andover, N. Andover, Boxford, Lawrence, Methuen, Tewksbury, Dracut, and town of Salem, New Hampshire.

Boston Metropolitan Region–includes 14 towns in Essex County, 34 towns in Middlesex County, 21 towns in Norfolk County, 15 Towns in Plymouth County, 1 town in Bristol County, and all of Suffolk County.

Framingham–includes Maynard, Stow, Hudson, Marlborough, Framingham, Southborough, Ashland, Hopkinton, Holliston, Milford, Medway, Millis, Medfield, Billingham, and Franklin. Portion also included in Boston total.

Lynn–includes Lynn, Saugus, Nahant, Swampscott, Lynnfield, Peabody, Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Danvers, Middleton, Wenham, Topsfield, Hamilton, Manchester, Ipswich, Essex, Gloucester, and Rockport. Portion also included in Boston total.

New Bedford–includes New Bedford, Dartmouth, Fairhaven, and Mattapoisett.

Springfield–includes Springfield, Longmeadow, E. Longmeadow, Hampden, Wilbraham, Agwam, and West Springfield.

Worcester–includes Worcester, Northborough, Westborough, Shrewsbury, Boylston, West Boylston, Holden, Paxton, Leicester, Auburn, Millbury, and, Sutton.

MICHIGAN

Mt. Pleasant–includes towns in Isabella, Mecosta, Gladwin, and Gratiot counties.

NEBRASKA

Omaha–includes Douglas and Sarpy counties. Also includes Pottawatomie County, Iowa.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Laconia–includes Laconia, Plymouth, Meredith, Conway, and Franklin.

Manchester–includes Manchester, Hookset, Merrimac, Amherst, Goffstown, Auburn, Derry, and Londonderry.

NEW JERSEY

Cherry Hill–includes Camden, Burlington, and Gloucester counties.

Essex County–East Essex includes Belleville, Bloomfield, East Orange, Irvington, Newark, and Nutley in Essex County and Kearney in Hudson County. North Essex includes Caldwell, Cedar Grove, Essex Fells, Fairfield, Glen Ridge, Montclair, North Caldwell, Roseland, Verona, and West Caldwell. South Essex includes Maplewood, Millburn, Short Hills, and South Orange in Essex County and Springfield in Union County.

Middlesex County–includes in Somerset County, Kendall Park, Somerset; in Mercer County, Hightstown.

Northeastern N.J.–includes Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Middlesex, Morris, Passaic, Somerset, and Union counties.

North Hudson County–includes Guttenberg, Hudson Heights, North Bergen, North Hudson, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, West New York, Woodcliff.

Passaic County–includes all towns in Passaic County. Previous estimates for North Jersey have been distributed between Passaic, Bergen, and Morris counties.

Somerset County–includes most of Somerset County and a portion of Hunterdon County.

Trenton–includes most of Mercer County.

Union County–includes all of Union County except Springfield. Also includes a few towns in adjacent areas of Somerset and Middlesex counties.

Vineland–includes most of Cumberland County and towns in neighboring counties adjacent to Vineland.

NEW YORK

Elmira–includes Chemung, Tioga, and Schuyler counties. Also includes Tioga and Bradford counties in Pennsylvania.

Glens Falls–includes Warren and Washington counties, lower Essex County and upper Saratoga County.

Kingston–includes eastern half of Ulster County.

New York Metropolitan Area–includes the 5 boroughs of New York City, Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk counties. For a total Jewish population of the New York Metropolitan Region, include southwestern Connecticut, Rockland, Putnam, and Orange counties in New York and northeastern New Jersey.

Syracuse–includes Onondaga County, Western Madison County, and most of Oswego County.

Utica–Southeastern third of Oneida County.

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville–includes Buncombe, Haywood, and Madison County.

Charlotte–includes Mecklenberg County. Also includes Lancaster and York counties in South Carolina.

Whiteville Zone–includes Elizabethtown, Fairmont, Jacksonville, Lumberton, Tabor City, Wallace, Warsaw, and Loris, S. Carolina.

OHIO

Cincinnati–includes Hamilton County. Also includes Boone, Campbell, and Kenton counties in Kentucky.

Toledo–includes Fulton, Lucas, and Wood counties. Also includes Monroe and Lenawee Counties, Michigan.

Youngstown–includes Mahoning and Trumbull counties. Also includes Mercer County, Pennsylvania.

PENNSYLVANIA

Ambridge–includes lower Beaver County and adjacent areas of Allegheny County.

Delaware Valley–includes Bensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Penndel, Warrington, Yardley, Richboro, Feasterville, Middletown, Southampton, and Holland.

Philadelphia–includes Philadelphia City, Montgomery, Delaware County, and central and upper Bucks County. For a total Jewish population of the Philadelphia Metropolitan Region, please include lower Bucks County, Chester County, and Cherry Hill area of New Jersey.

Pittsburgh–includes all of Allegheny County and adjacent portions of Washington, Westmoreland, and Beaver counties.

Wilkes-Barre–includes all of Lucerne County except southern portion, which is included in Hazleton totals.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Sumter–includes towns in Sumter, Lee, Clarendon, and Williamsburg counties.

TEXAS

Amarillo–includes Canyon, Childress, Borger, Dumas, Memphis, Pampa, Vega, and Hereford in Texas, and Portales, New Mexico.

De Witt County–includes communities also in Colorado, Fayette, Gonzales, and La Vaca counties.

Houston–includes Harris, Montgomery, and Ft. Bend counties and parts of Brazoria and Galveston counties.

Waco–includes Mclellan, Coryell, Bell, Falls, Hamilton, and Hill counties.

VIRGINIA

Newport News–includes Newport News, Hampton, Williamsburg, James City, York County, and Poquosson County.

Richmond–includes Richmond City, Henrico County, and Chesterfield County.

Staunton–includes towns in Augusta, Page, Shenendoah, Rockingham, Bath, and Highland counties.

Winchester–includes towns in Winchester, Frederick, Clark, and Warren counties, Virginia, and Hardy and Jefferson counties, West Virginia.

WASHINGTON

Seattle–includes King County and adjacent portions of Snohomish and Kitsap counties.

Tri Cities–includes Pasco, Richland, Kennewick, and Yakima.

WEST VIRGINIA

Huntington–includes nearby towns in Ohio and Kentucky.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee–includes Milwaukee County, Eastern Waukesha County, and Southern Ozaukee County.

Wasau–includes Stevens Point, Marshfield, Antigo, and Rhinelander.

World Jewish Population, 1986

Updated Estimates

THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS updates, as of 1986, of the Jewish population estimates for the various countries of the world.[1] The estimates reflect some of the results of a prolonged and ongoing effort to study scientifically the demography of contemporary world Jewry.[2] Data collection and comparative research have benefited from the collaboration of scholars and institutions in many countries, including replies to direct inquiries regarding current estimates. It should be emphasized, however, that the elaboration of a worldwide set of estimates for the Jewish populations of the various countries is beset with difficulties and uncertainties. The reader has been given some information on the quality of the estimate for each country by an accuracy rating, using a simple scale explained below.

Over 95 percent of world Jewry is concentrated in nine countries, with approximately 100,000 or more Jews each. The aggregate of these nine major Jewish population centers virtually determines the assessment of the size of total world Jewry. The figures for 1986 have been updated from those for 1984 in accordance with the known or estimated changes in the interval—vital events (i.e., births and deaths), identificational changes (accessions and secessions), and migrations. In addition, some corrections have been introduced in the light of newly accrued information from Jewish sources. Where necessary, corrections have also been applied retrospectively to the 1984 figures, which appear below in revised summary (see table 1), so as to allow for comparison with the 1986 estimates.

Jewish Population Trends

Diaspora Jews are highly dispersed. In most countries their number is now rather small and they constitute no more than a minute fraction of the entire population.

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[1] The previous estimates, as of 1984, were first published in AJYB, vol. 86, 1986, 350–64, and reprinted in a condensed version in AJYB, vol. 87, 1987, 331–38.

[2] Many of these activities have been carried out by, or in coordination with, the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Consequently, though Jews tend to cluster in large cities, they are greatly exposed to assimilation. While the assimilatory process leads to demographic losses for the Jewish population, there may also be gains through accession of persons who were born as non-Jews. It is the net balance of the identificational changes that matters demographically; in the longer run, the cohesion of a Diaspora population may be affected as well.[3]

The Jews in most countries of the Diaspora are demographically characterized by very low fertility, considerable outmarriage (which may involve losses of children to the Jewish population),[4] some other net assimilatory losses, and great aging. Since an increased proportion of elderly in the population usually implies not only many deceased but also a reduced proportion of persons of reproductive age—and therefore relatively fewer births—the aging of a population has the effect of reducing the birthrate and raising the death rate. There are differences in the levels of these demographic factors among the Jews in various regions and countries. In all major Diaspora populations the joint balance of the natural and identificational changes is now close to nil or outrightly negative, with the Jewish deceased frequently outnumbering newborn Jews. These negative tendencies have been taken into account in updating the estimates of Jews in many countries.

With regard to the balance of external migrations, there is no regularity among the various Diaspora populations or even in the same population over time. Where the migratory balance is positive—e.g., in North America—it counteracts or even outweighs any numerically negative influence of internal demographic developments. Where the migratory balance is negative, it may cause, or aggravate, the decrease of a Jewish population. In 1985–1986, the overall volume of international migrations of Jews was rather restricted, primarily because of the virtual cessation of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union.

In contrast, Jews in Israel incur virtually no outmarriages and direct assimilatory losses. Moreover, until the early 1980s they tended to have a positive migration balance. They have a younger age structure than Diaspora Jews and the general populations of the developed countries and exhibit a fairly high level of fertility. The previously substantial fertility differentials between Jews in-gathered in Israel from Asia-Africa and Europe-America are no longer in evidence. Remarkably, European Jews in Israel have not participated in the drastic fertility decline that has characterized the developed nations and Diaspora Jews during the last few decades, but have actually raised their fertility. In recent years, both major origin groups among Israel's Jews have displayed a fertility level surpassing not only the vast majority of Diaspora Jewry but also the general populations in the developed countries.

In the overall demographic balance of world Jewry, the natural increase of Israel has, so far, made up for losses in the Diaspora. But such compensation will not be possible for much longer. As a consequence of the intensifying demographic deficit in the Diaspora, a trend for some reduction in the total number of the world's Jews may soon be setting in.[5]

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[3] A fuller discussion of the subject can be found in U. O. Schmelz, "Jewish Survival: The Demographic Factors," AJYB, vol. 81, 1981, 61–117.

[4] If less than half of the children of the outmarried are themselves Jews.

Difficulties in Estimating Jewish Population Size in the Diaspora[6]

Some of the difficulties involved in estimating the size of Jewish Diaspora populations are common to all aspects of the study of Diaspora demography. They are mainly due to the great geographical scattering of Jews (a factor that makes multiple data collection mandatory but also hinders its feasibility); to their unusually strong demographic dynamics in many respects— migrations, social mobility, family formation patterns (including outmarriage), etc.; and to lacunae of available demographic information, which is deficient in both quantity and quality.

More specific difficulties in estimating the up-to-date size of Jewish populations are due to conceptual and measurement problems.

When mixed couples and households are not infrequent, it is necessary to distinguish between the "actually Jewish population" and the "enlarged Jewish population." The latter comprises also the non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.) of the Jews. However socially significant the non-Jewish household members (and more distant non-Jewish relatives) of the Jews may be, they should not be included in a count of Jews. The paradoxical situation that exists is that growth of an enlarged Jewish population may be associated with contraction of the respective actually Jewish population.

Another vexing problem is identificational changes among Jews. Under present conditions, there are Jews who have not formally embraced another religion, yet are either very estranged ("marginal") or have even become resolutely alienated from Judaism and the Jewish community and, if questioned, disclaim being Jews any longer. When a census or survey is taken which inquires into religion or ethnicity, these individuals have an opportunity to define their current status subjectively.[7] In general, the practice of self-determination is followed in all relevant censuses and surveys. This applies to marginal individuals, converts to Judaism (although some of the conversions may be contested between the various ideological trends—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform), and to all other persons who claim to be Jews. In estimating the size of a Jewish population, it is usual to include, in principle, all marginal individuals who have not ceased to be Jews.[8]

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[5] *Aliyah* and *yeridah*—immigration to, and emigration from, Israel—obviously constitute only internal transfers within the global Jewish framework.

[6] Reliable figures are currently forthcoming for the Jews of Israel from official statistics.

[7] Misreporting of Jews in official censuses is a different issue; see below.

[8] Even persons who disclaim being Jews at some stage of life may change their minds later.

Not a few Jews (like other persons) have some residential status in more than one country.[9] This may be due to business requirements, professional assignments in foreign countries, climatic differences between countries, migrants staying temporarily in prolonged transit, etc. The danger of double-counting or omissions is inherent in such situations. As far as possible we have tried to account for such persons only once, giving precedence to the usual country of residence.

Figures on Jews from population censuses are unavailable for most Diaspora communities. Even where census statistics on Jews are forthcoming, they are usually scant, because the Jews are a small minority. There have been instances where detailed tabulations on Jews have been undertaken, through Jewish initiative, from official census material; examples are Canada, South Africa, and Argentina. In some countries serious problems exist, or are feared to exist, in the reporting of Jews as such: individuals may prefer not to describe themselves as Jews, or non-Jews may be erroneously included as Jews (as has happened in Latin American countries). These problems require statistical evaluation whose feasibility and conclusiveness depend on the relevant information available.

Surveys are the only way of obtaining comprehensive information on Jewish populations in the absence of official censuses. Jewish-sponsored surveys have the additional advantage of being able to inquire into matters of specifically Jewish interest, e.g., Jewish education, observances, and attitudes. However, since they address themselves to a small and scattered minority with identification problems, they are not easy to conduct competently and may encounter difficulties with regard to both coverage and response, especially with regard to marginal Jews. Again, these aspects require evaluation. Countrywide surveys have been undertaken in the United States, South Africa, France, Italy, Netherlands, etc. Local surveys have been carried out in many U.S. cities, in the United Kingdom, Latin America, Australia, etc. However, these local initiatives have so far been uncoordinated with regard to content and method.

In certain countries or localities, Jewish community registers include all or the largest part of the Jewish population. Often the same communities keep records of Jewish vital events—especially marriages performed with a Jewish ceremony and Jewish burials. However, communal registers tend to cover mixed households insufficiently. Also, although the amount and quality of updating vary from place to place, community registers generally lag behind the actual situation of the respective Jewish populations.

Many estimates of Jewish populations for which no solid data from censuses or surveys exist are regrettably of unspecified or dubious source and methodology.

Besides the conceptual and measurement difficulties affecting the figures for a

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[9] The problem is even more acute with regard to residential status in more than one locality of the same country, but in principle this does not affect the population estimates for entire countries.

Jewish population at any base date, similar problems recur with regard to the updating information which should account for all the various types of changes in the time elapsed since that base date. For vital events and identificational changes, age-sex-specific models can be of use; these may be applied after studying the evolution of the respective or similar Jewish populations. With regard to the migratory balance in any updating interval, concrete information must be gathered, because of the above-mentioned irregularity, over time, in the intensity of many migratory streams.

Presentation of Data

The detailed estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent (tables 2–6 below) refer to residents in countries with at least 100 Jews. A residual estimate of "other" Jews living in smaller communities, or staying temporarily in transit accommodations, supplements some of the continental totals. For each of the reported countries, the four columns in the table provide the United Nations estimate of mid-year 1986 total population,[10] the estimated end-1986 Jewish population, the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of total population, and a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population estimates.

There is wide variation in the quality of the Jewish population estimates for different countries. For many Diaspora countries it would be best to indicate a range (minimum-maximum) rather than a definite figure for the number of Jews. It would be confusing, however, for the reader to be confronted with a long list of ranges; this would also complicate the regional and world totals. Yet, the figures actually indicated for most of the Diaspora countries should be understood as being the central value of the plausible range. The relative magnitude of this range varies inversely with the accuracy of the estimate.

The three main elements which affect the accuracy of each estimate are the nature of the base data, the recency of the base data, and the method of updating. A simple code combining these elements is used to provide a general evaluation of the reliability of the Jewish population figures reported in the detailed tables below. The code indicates different quality levels of the reported estimates: (A) base figure derived from countrywide census or relatively reliable Jewish population surveys; updated on the basis of full or partial information on Jewish population movements in the intervening period; (B) base figure derived from less accurate but recent countrywide Jewish population investigation; partial information on population movements in the intervening period; (C) base figure derived from less recent sources, and/or unsatisfactory or partial coverage of Jewish population in country; updating according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends; and (D) base figure essentially conjectural; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C), the years in which the base figures or important partial updates were obtained are also stated.

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[10] These were the latest official estimates available at the time of writing. See United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office, *Population and Vital Statistics Report: Data Available as of 1 July 1987.* Statistical Papers, ser. A, vol. 39, no. 3 (New York, 1987).

For countries whose Jewish population estimate of 1986 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

Distribution of World Jewish Population by Major Regions

Table 1 gives an overall picture for 1986 as compared to 1984. For 1984 the originally published estimates are presented along with somewhat revised figures that take into account, retrospectively, the corrections made in 1986 in certain country estimates, in the light of improved information. These corrections resulted in a net reduction of world Jewry's estimated size by 9,300, or less than 0.1 percent. Some explanations are given below for the relevant countries.

The size of world Jewry is assessed at slightly below 13 million. According to the revised figures, the estimated growth between 1984 and 1986 was negligible—about three per 10,000 annually. Despite all the imperfections in the estimates, it is clear that world Jewry is in the state of "zero population growth," with the natural increase in Israel compensating for the demographic losses in the Diaspora.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from a figure of 3,471,700 in 1984 to 3,562,500 at the end of 1986, or by 1.3 percent annually. In contrast, Diaspora Jewry declined from 9,482,700 (according to the revised figures) to approximately 9,401,400, or by 0.5 percent annually. These changes were almost entirely due to internal demographic evolution, since the migratory balance between the Diaspora and Israel amounted to no more than 9,200 during these two years and was positive for the Diaspora (Israel lost migrants on balance). By the end of 1986, Israel's Jews constituted about 27.5 percent of total world Jewry.

About half of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with 46 percent in North America. Twenty-eight percent live in Asia (excluding the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey), nearly all of them in Israel. Europe (including the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey) accounts for 21 percent of the total. The proportions of the world's Jews who live in Africa and Oceania are very small.

Among the major geographical regions listed in table 1, the number of Jews in Israel—and, in consequence, in total Asia—increased by more than 2 percent in the two-year span 1984–1986. The total number of Jews estimated for North America virtually did not change. The total estimate for Oceania increased by over 2 percent. Most other regions sustained decreases in Jewish population size.

World Jewry constitutes about 2.6 per 1,000 of total world population. One in about 385 people in the world is a Jew.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 1984 AND 1986

	1984					
		Revised		1986		% Change
Region	Original	Abs. Nos.	Percent	Abs. Nos.	Percent	1984–1986
Diaspora	9,491,600	9,482,700	73.2	9,401,400	72.5	−0.9
Israel	3,471,700	3,471,700	26.8	3,562,500	27.5	+2.6
World	12,963,300	12,954,400	100.0	12,963,900	100.0	+0.1
America, Total	6,469,000	6,461,100	49.9	6,454,700	49.8	−0.1
North[a]	6,015,000	6,010,000	46.4	6,010,000	46.4	0.0
Central	47,300	46,300	0.4	45,500	0.3	−1.7
South	406,700	404,800	3.1	399,200	3.1	−1.4
Europe, Total	2,758,600	2,755,800	21.3	2,685,900	20.7	−2.5
West	1,048,900	1,048,600	8.1	1,043,300	8.0	−0.5
East & Balkans[b]	1,709,700	1,707,200	13.2	1,642,600	12.7	−3.8
Asia, Total	3,509,300	3,509,300	27.1	3,597,000	27.8	+2.5
Israel	3,471,700	3,471,700	26.8	3,562,500	27.5	+2.6
Rest[b]	37,600	37,600	0.3	34,500	0.3	−8.2
Africa, Total	147,400	149,100	1.1	145,200	1.1	−2.6
North	16,700	16,700	0.1	15,200	0.1	−9.0
South	119,100	119,100	0.9	116,200	0.9	−2.4
Rest[c]	11,600	13,300	0.1	13,800	0.1	+3.8
Oceania	79,000	79,100	0.6	81,100	0.6	+2.5

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[a] U.S.A. and Canada.

[b] The Asian territories of USSR and Turkey are included in "East Europe and Balkans."

[c] Including Ethiopia.

Individual Countries

THE AMERICAS

In 1986 the total number of Jews in the American continents was somewhat less than six and a half million. The overwhelming majority (about 93 percent) reside in the United States and Canada, less than 1 percent live in Central America (including Mexico), and about 6 percent live in South America, where Argentina and Brazil have the largest Jewish communities (see table 2).

The balance of Jewish population changes in the United States as a whole must now be close to nil. Several local surveys taken in recent years provide evidence of very low birthrates and of increasing aging among the Jewish population. Thus, it is possible that the influence of internal evolution on the size of U.S. Jewry may be negative, though there is no consensus with regard to this assessment. Any negative internal balance in U.S. Jewry was more than offset several years ago by an undoubtedly positive balance of external migrations. This latter has been greatly reduced, however, by the virtual cessation of Soviet Jewish immigration.

Our 1986 estimate of 5,700,000 Jews in the United States essentially repeats the figures reported for the previous years, and is consistent with the new estimates prepared by the research team of the North American Jewish Data Bank which are reported elsewhere in this volume.[11] Actually, the new figure is 5,814,000 for 1986, but it includes an estimated "under 2 percent" of non-Jewish members of Jewish households. After deducting the latter from 5,814,000, one arrives at the round figure of approximately 5,700,000 Jews in the United States.

In Canada an official population census held in 1981 enumerated 296,425 Jews according to religion. If the persons are added who responded "Jewish" (as a *single* reply) to the census question on ethnic groups, while not indicating any religion (i.e., they were not Christians, etc.), the figure rises to 306,375. There were additonal persons who did not indicate religion but mentioned "Jewish" as part of a *multiple* response to the question on ethnic groups. It is likely that some of them were merely thinking in terms of ancestry but did not actually consider themselves as Jews at the time of the census. By including a reasonable proportion of those who were identified in the census as Jews by multiple ethnicity only, a round total of 310,000 is arrived at for 1981. The figure of 310,000 was also adopted for 1986, as a

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[11] The new U.S. Jewish population estimates first appeared in B. Kosmin, P. Ritterband, and J. Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1986," AJYB, vol. 87, 1987, 164–91. See also U. O. Schmelz, *World Jewish Population: Regional Estimates and Projections* (Jerusalem, 1981), 32–36; U. O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demographic Consequences of U.S. Jewish Population Trends," AJYB, vol. 83, 1983, 141–87; U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in U.S. Jewish Demography,* Jewish Sociology Papers, American Jewish Committee (New York, 1988).

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, 1986

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	25,612,000	310,000	12.1	A 1981
United States	241,596,000	5,700,000	23.6	B 1986 X
Total Northern America		6,010,000		
Bahamas	236,000	300	1.3	C 1973 X
Costa Rica	2,666,000	2,000	0.8	C 1986 X
Cuba	10,246,000	700	0.1	D
Dominican Republic	6,416,000	100	0.0	D
Guatemala	8,195,000	800	0.1	A 1983
Jamaica	2,372,000	300	0.1	B 1986
Mexico	79,563,000	35,000	0.4	C 1980
Netherlands Antilles	261,000	400	1.5	D X
Panama	2,227,000	3,800	1.7	C 1986
Puerto Rico	3,502,000	1,500	0.4	C 1986 X
Virgin Islands	107,000	300	2.8	C 1986 X
Other		300		D
Total Central America		45,500		
Argentina	31,030,000	224,000	7.2	C 1960–86
Bolivia	6,547,000	600	0.1	C 1986
Brazil	138,493,000	100,000	0.7	B 1980
Chile	12,327,000	17,000	1.4	C 1986
Colombia	29,188,000	6,500	0.2	C 1986
Ecuador	9,647,000	1,000	0.1	C 1982
Paraguay	3,807,000	900	0.2	C 1984
Peru	20,207,000	4,000	0.2	B 1985 X
Suriname	380,000	200	0.5	B 1986
Uruguay	2,983,000	25,000	8.4	D X
Venezuela	17,791,000	20,000	1.1	D
Total Southern America		399,200		
Total		6,454,700		

migratory surplus may have roughly offset the probably negative balance of internal evolution since the census.

The estimate for Mexico has been kept unchanged at 35,000. While the official Mexican censuses have given widely varying figures—17,574 in 1950; 100,750 in 1960; 49,277 in 1970; 61,790 in 1980—it is generally admitted that the last three censuses erroneously included many thousands of non-Jews among the Jews.

The Jewish population of Argentina is marked by a negative balance in internal evolution. In the past, the balance of external migrations was strongly negative, but since the present democratic regime came to power, emigration has diminished and there has been some return migration. Assuming a migratory balance close to nil, the estimate has been reduced from 228,000 in 1984 to 224,000 in 1986.

The official population census of Brazil in 1980 showed a figure of 91,795 Jews. Since it is possible that some Jews failed to declare themselves as such in the census, a corrected estimate of 100,000 was adopted for 1981 and has been kept unchanged for 1986, assuming that the overall balance of vital events and external migrations was close to zero.

On the strength of fragmentary information that is accumulating, the admittedly quite tentative estimate for Uruguay has been revised downward, while those for Chile and Venezuela have not been changed.[12]

EUROPE

Of Europe's estimated 2,686,000 Jews, 39 percent live in Western Europe and 61 percent in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries (including the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey).

France has the largest Jewish population in Western Europe, estimated at 530,000. Monitoring of the plausible trends in the internal evolution and the external migrations of Jews in France renders it likely that there has been little net change since the major survey that was taken in the 1970s.[13]

A reestimation of the size of British Jewry was carried out by the research unit of the Board of Deputies, based on an analysis of Jewish deaths during 1975–1979. The revised population figure for 1977 was 336,000 with a margin of error of +/− 34,000.[14] Allowing for an excess of deaths over births, some assimilatory losses, and emigration, the update for 1984, as elaborated by the board's research unit, came to 330,000. The update for 1986 is 326,000.

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[12] For a more detailed discussion of the region's Jewish population trends, see U. O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demography of Latin American Jewry," AJYB, vol. 85, 1985, 51–102.

[13] Doris Bensimon and Sergio DellaPergola, *La population juive de France: socio-démographie et identité* (Jerusalem and Paris, 1984).

[14] S. Haberman, B. A. Kosmin, and C. Levy, "Mortality Patterns of British Jews 1975–79: Insights and Applications for the Size and Structure of British Jewry," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society,* ser. A., 146, pt. 3 (1983): 294–310.

West Germany, Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands each have Jewish populations ranging around 30,000. There is an internal tendency toward shrinkage of all these Jewries, but in some instances this is offset partly by immigration. Up to 1984 Jews in Italy were legally obliged to register with the local Jewish communities.

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, 1986

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Austria	7,565,000	6,400	0.8	A 1986
Belgium	9,913,000	32,000	3.2	D
Bulgaria	8,959,000	3,200	0.4	D
Czechoslovakia	15,534,000	8,200	0.5	D
Denmark	5,121,000	6,600	1.3	C 1984
Finland	4,918,000	1,200	0.2	A 1986
France	55,392,000	530,000	9.6	C 1972–78
Germany, East	16,624,000	500	0.0	C 1986 X
Germany, West	61,048,000	32,700	0.5	B 1986
Gibraltar	29,000	600	20.7	A 1981
Great Britain	56,763,000	326,000	5.7	B 1986
Greece	9,966,000	5,000	0.5	B 1986
Hungary	10,627,000	60,000	5.6	D
Ireland	3,537,000	2,000	0.6	A 1986
Italy	57,221,000	31,800	0.6	B 1986
Luxembourg	363,000	700	1.9	C 1970
Netherlands	14,563,000	26,000	1.8	C 1986
Norway	4,169,000	1,000	0.2	A 1982
Poland	37,456,000	4,400	0.1	D
Portugal	10,291,000	300	0.0	B 1986 X
Rumania	23,174,000	21,500	0.9	B 1986 X
Spain	38,668,000	12,000	0.3	D
Sweden	8,370,000	15,000	1.8	C 1982
Switzerland	6,504,000	19,000	2.9	A 1980
Turkey[a]	50,301,000	20,000	0.4	C 1986
USSR[a]	280,144,000	1,515,000	5.4	C 1979
Yugoslavia	23,271,000	4,800	0.2	C 1986
Total		2,685,900		

[a] Including Asian regions.

Since then, membership in the community has become voluntary. Although most Jews did reaffirm their membership, the new community framework may have repercussions both on the degree of completeness of the communal registers and, in the long run, on the cohesion of the community.

Switzerland's Jews are estimated at below 20,000, on the strength of the 1980 census. While there is evidence of a negative balance of births and deaths (connected *inter alia* with great aging) and of frequent outmarriage, immigration may have offset the internal losses.

Eastern European Jewry is characterized by particularly low levels of effectively Jewish fertility, connected with a frequent and prolonged practice of outmarriage, and by heavy aging. Therefore the shrinking of the Jewish population there must be comparatively rapid.

By far the largest Jewish population in Eastern Europe is concentrated in the Soviet Union, including its Asian territory. Only about 2,000 Jews were permitted to emigrate during 1985–1986, but the heavy deficit of internal population dynamics must have continued and even intensified, due to the great aging that is known to have prevailed.[15] Under these circumstances the estimate has been reduced from 1,575,000 in 1984 to 1,515,000 in 1986.

The Jewish populations in Hungary and Rumania and the small remnants in Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, and Bulgaria are all reputed to be very overaged. Their inevitable numerical decline is reflected in reduced estimates. For Rumania, considerable emigration of Jews is taking place; in addition, a correction was made in the 1986 estimate, omitting non-Jewish members of Jewish households that had been previously included in the figures reported from that country.

The size of Hungarian Jewry—the largest in Eastern Europe outside the USSR—is insufficiently known. Our estimate only attempts to reflect the declining trend that prevails there too, according to the available indications.

The Jewish population of Turkey is estimated at about 20,000, and a deficit of births over deaths is reported.

ASIA

Israel accounts for 99 percent of all the Jews in Asia, excluding the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey. Israel's Jewish population grew over 1985–1986 by about 90,000. All this growth was due to natural increase, since the migration balance was negative (−9,200) in 1985–1986.

It is difficult to estimate the Jewish population of Iran for any given date, but it continues to dwindle.

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[15] U. O. Schmelz, "New Evidence on Basic Issues in the Demography of Soviet Jews," *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 16, no. 2 (1974): 209–23.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, 1986

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Hong Kong	5,533,000	1,000	0.2	C 1980
India	766,135,000	4,200	0.0	C 1971
Iran	45,914,000	22,000	0.5	D
Iraq	16,450,000	200	0.0	D
Israel[a]	4,333,100[a]	3,562,500	822.2	A 1986
Japan	120,492,000	1,000	0.0	C 1986
Lebanon	2,707,000	100	0.0	D
Philippines	56,004,000	100	0.0	C 1982
Singapore	2,586,000	300	0.1	C 1984
Syria	10,612,000	4,000	0.4	D
Thailand	52,094,000	300	0.0	C 1980
Yemen	7,046,000	1,000	0.1	D
Other		300		D
Total		3,597,000		

[a] End 1986.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, 1986

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	49,609,000	200	0.0	D
Ethiopia	44,927,000	12,000	0.3	D X
Kenya	21,163,000	100	0.0	B 1986
Morocco	22,476,000	12,000	0.5	D
South Africa	33,221,000	115,000	3.5	B 1980
Tunisia	7,234,000	3,000	0.4	D
Zaire	80,850,000	400	0.0	D X
Zambia	6,896,000	300	0.0	D
Zimbabwe	8,406,000	1,200	0.1	B 1986
Other		1,000		D
Total		145,200		

AFRICA

About 145,000 Jews are estimated to remain now in Africa. The Republic of South Africa accounts for 80 percent of total Jews in that continent.

According to the 1980 census of the Republic of South Africa, the final figure for Jews (by religion, among the white population) was 117,963. Since then, Jewish population size there has been reduced by a negative migratory balance.

According to recent reports, the number of Jews remaining in Ethiopia may be very roughly estimated at 12,000. The remnant of Moroccan Jewry continued to shrink through emigration. It should be pointed out, though, that not a few Jews have a foothold both in Morocco (or Tunisia) and in France, and their geographical attribution is uncertain.

OCEANIA

The major country of Jewish residence in this geographical region is Australia, where 95 percent of the estimated total of somewhat over 80,000 Jews live. Australian Jewry is being reinforced by immigration.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, 1986

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating	
Australia	15,974,000	77,000	4.8	C 1981	
New Zealand	3,248,000	4,000	1.2	B 1981	
Other		100		D	X
Total		81,100			

Dispersion and Concentration

Table 7 demonstrates the magnitude of Jewish dispersion. The individual countries listed above as each having at least 100 Jews are scattered over all the continents. More than half (43 out of 74 countries) have fewer than 5,000 Jews apiece.

In relative terms, too, the Jews are now thinly scattered nearly everywhere in the Diaspora. There is not a single Diaspora country where they amount even to 3 percent of the total population. In most countries they constitute a far smaller fraction. Only three Diaspora countries have 10–25 Jews per 1,000 of total population; and only nine countries have more than 5 Jews per 1,000 of population. The respective nine countries are, in descending order of the proportion—but regardless of the absolute number—of their Jews: United States (23.6), Gibraltar (20.7), Canada (12.1), France (9.6), Uruguay (8.4), Argentina (7.2), Great Britain (5.7), Hungary (5.6), USSR (5.4). This list includes all the Diaspora countries with Jewries of 100,000 or more, except for South Africa and Brazil (in the latter's large population

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1986

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					
	Total	Below 1	1–5	5–10	10–25	25 and over
	Number of Countries					
Total	74[a]	49	15	6	3	1
Below 1,000	23	18	4	—	1	—
1,000–5,000	19	17	2	—	—	—
5,000–10,000	5	4	1	—	—	—
10,000–50,000	16	9	6	1	—	—
50,000–100,000	2	—	1	1	—	—
100,000–1,000,000	6	1	1	3	1	—
1,000,000 and over	3	—	—	1	1	1
	Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)					
Total	12,963,900	373,700	337,100	2,680,000	6,010,600	3,562,500
Below 1,000	10,400	8,100	1,700	—	600	—
1,000–5,000	48,300	40,500	7,800	—	—	—
5,000–10,000	32,700	26,100	6,600	—	—	—
10,000–50,000	353,000	199,000	129,000	25,000	—	—
50,000–100,000	137,000	—	77,000	60,000	—	—
100,000–1,000,000	1,605,000	100,000	115,000	1,080,000	310,000	—
1,000,000 and over	10,777,500	—	—	1,515,000	5,700,000	3,562,500
	Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews)					
Total	100.0	2.9	2.6	20.7	46.3	27.5
Below 1,000	0.1	0.1	0.0	—	0.0	—
1,000–5,000	0.4	0.3	0.1	—	—	—
5,000–10,000	0.2	0.2	0.0	—	—	—
10,000–50,000	2.7	1.5	1.0	0.2	—	—
50,000–100,000	1.1	—	0.6	0.5	—	—
100,000–1,000,000	12.4	0.8	0.9	8.3	2.4	—
1,000,000 and over	83.1	—	—	11.7	43.9	27.5

[a] Excluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews.

TABLE 8. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS (100,000 JEWS AND ABOVE), 1986

			% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the Diaspora		In the World	
Rank	Country	Jewish Population	%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,700,000	60.6	60.6	43.9	43.9
2	Israel	3,562,500	—	—	27.5	71.4
3	Soviet Union	1,515,000	16.1	76.7	11.7	83.1
4	France	530,000	5.6	82.3	4.1	87.2
5	Great Britain	326,000	3.5	85.8	2.5	89.7
6	Canada	310,000	3.3	89.1	2.4	92.1
7	Argentina	224,000	2.4	91.5	1.7	93.8
8	South Africa	115,000	1.2	92.7	0.9	94.7
9	Brazil	100,000	1.1	93.8	0.8	95.5

the Jews form only 0.7 per 1,000). In the State of Israel, by contrast, the Jewish majority amounted to 82.2 percent in 1986.

While Jews are widely dispersed, they are also concentrated to some extent (table 8). In 1986 over 95 percent of world Jewry lived in the nine countries with the largest Jewish populations, each comprising about 100,000 Jews or more; 83 percent lived in the three countries that have at least a million Jews each (United States, Israel, Soviet Union). Similarly, the United States alone accounted for over 60 percent of total Diaspora Jewry; two countries (United States and Soviet Union) for 77 percent; and the eight Diaspora countries with 100,000 Jews or more together comprised 94 percent of the Diaspora Jewish population.

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